

U.S. Department of Justice



Federal Bureau of Investigation
935 Pennsylvania Ave., N.W.

Washington, D.C. 20535-0001

Mr. Ernie Lazar
Post Office Box 423434
San Francisco, California 94142-3434

Subject of Request: Harry Augustus Jung

FOIPA No. 446366 /190- HQ-1250810

Dear Requester:

Enclosed are copies of documents from FBI records. Excisions have been made to protect information exempt from disclosure pursuant to Title 5, United States Code, Section 552 (Freedom of Information Act) and/or Section 552a (Privacy Act). In addition, where excisions were made, the appropriate exempting subsections have been cited opposite the deletions. Where pages have been withheld in their entirety, a deleted page information sheet has been substituted showing the reasons or basis for the deletion. The subsections cited for withholding information from the enclosed documents are marked below:

Section 552

Section 552a

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|---------------------------------------|---|---------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> (b)(1) | <input type="checkbox"/> (b)(7)(A) | <input type="checkbox"/> (d)(5) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> (b)(2) | <input type="checkbox"/> (b)(7)(B) | <input type="checkbox"/> (j)(2) |
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| <input type="checkbox"/> (b)(6) | | <input type="checkbox"/> (k)(7) |

(See Form OPCA-16a, enclosed, for an explanation of these exemptions.)

Pursuant to your request, 500 pages(s) were reviewed and 481 page(s) are being released.

During the review of material pertinent to the subject of your request, documents were located which

- ☐ originated with another Government agency(ies).
These documents were referred to that agency(ies) for review and direct response to you.
- ☐ contain information furnished by another Government agency(ies). You will be advised by the FBI as to the releasability of this information following our consultation with the other agency(ies).

- ☒ If you desire, you may appeal any denials contained herein. Appeals should be directed in writing to the Co-Director, Office of Information and Privacy, U.S. Department of Justice, Flag Building, Suite 570, Washington, D.C. 20530-0001 within sixty days from receipt of this letter. The envelope and the letter should be clearly marked "Freedom of Information Appeal" or "Information Appeal." Please cite the FOIPA number assigned to your request so that it may be easily identified.
- ☐ The enclosed material is from the main investigative file(s) in which the subject of your request was the subject of the investigation. There are additional references to the subject(s) of your request in files relating to other individuals, organizations, events or activities. These additional mentions or references have not been reviewed to determine if, in fact, they are identifiable with the subject(s) of your request. Our experience has shown that such references are frequently similar to information contained in the processed main file(s). We will process these references if you now make a specific request for them. However, because of a significant increase in FOIPA requests and an expanding backlog, we have given priority to the processing of main investigative files and can only complete the processing of these additional references as time and resources permit.
- ☒ See additional information which follows.

Sincerely yours,

Chief
Freedom of Information-
Privacy Acts Section
Office of Public and Congressional Affairs

Enclosures (4)

Pursuant to your narrowed request on Harry Augustus Jung, only the first 500 pages of the documents responsive to your request were considered for processing, of which 481 pages were deemed releasable to you and are enclosed.

Pursuant to Title 28, Code of Federal Regulations, Sections 16.11 and 16.49, there is a fee of ten cents per page for duplication. The first 100 pages are free. Accordingly, duplication fees incurred by you total \$38.10. Your check or money order, payable to the Federal Bureau of Investigation in the amount of \$38.10, is due upon receipt of this communication.

The enclosed contain documents reproduced from the original file. Due to the age and condition of the original file, we have found that copies reproduced therefrom have been extremely difficult to read. While we realize the quality of some of the documents is poor, every effort has been made to obtain the best copies possible.

FILE DESCRIPTION

SUBJECT HARRY AUGUSTUS JUNG

FILE NO. 62-12299

VOLUME NO. SECTION 1

62- HQ-12299

SECTION 1

SERIALS 1-15



62-HQ-12299-1

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SERIALS 1-15

PICKETT STREET

b7C

THIS FILE

421

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Recharge File Every 90 Days

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JUNG

File Number
62-12299

Serial (S)

Date

Time

10/12/99 12:22

LATEST SERIALS

Serial

Date

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Status

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Category

Subject

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Subject

DOE1312

Lock up when not in use

FACS

File Automated Control System

Routing Slip

17827

TPB:JWM

~~61-797-257~~
62-12299-1

RECORDED & INDEXED

March 15, 1926.

Mr. E. A. Jung,
Commissioner, National Clay Products
Industries Association,
Chamber of Commerce Building,
Chicago, Ill.

797
or

Dear Sir:

Receipt is acknowledged of your letter of the
8th instant enclosing a report of a meeting held in Chicago
on February 26th, at the Harper Assembly Hall, University
of Chicago, which report I have noted with interest.

Very truly yours,

Director.

"INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS"

NATIONAL CLAY PRODUCTS INDUSTRIES ASSOCIATION
CHAMBER OF COMMERCE BUILDING

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

TELEPHONE DEARBORN 1946



17628

GENERAL COUNSEL: GOOD, CHILD, ROSS & WERCOTT
MEMBER: LEAGUE FOR INDUSTRIAL RIGHTS
NATIONAL INDUSTRIAL CONFERENCE BOARD

March
Eighth
1936

Mr. J. E. Hoover,
Bureau of Investigation,
Department of Justice,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

Find herewith enclosed, an
important meeting report which took
place here last night (Sunday) and was
"covered" by the writer.

Very truly yours,

COMMISSIONER
H. A. Jung.

HAI:LM

Encl. 14-28,950,11

RECORDED & INDEXED

62-12299-1
61-797257

BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

MAR 13 1936 P.M.

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Mar 13 1936

ack 5/15/36

File 14-28,950,11

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Report for Friday night,
February 26th, 1938, at
Harper Assembly Hall,
University of Chicago.

There were thirty-seven people (including one who came in to get warm) at the meeting. A young theological student said, a few days later that, "he didn't know why so many were afraid to come out".

Harrison admitted that conduct is determined by that gallery to which one reacts. He stated that there are over a hundred peace movements loose today, their object being to encourage conscientious objectors, rewrite text books along lines of pacifism, bring the church to their point of view and to this end they are to attempt to:

Capture the teachers, - which is much more to their advantage than to rewrite the text books.

Capture the young preachers and the young missionaries.

Make use of the ex-soldiers of the Legion.

Concentrate on the boy scout leaders.

He stated that he had seen a contract that had been let by Congress to a New England manufacturer to make the uniforms for the next war. That Congress should give a decoration to every conscientious objector, (draw the only applause of the evening).

He charged his audience to "study to bring discredit and ridicule on the military and the fetish of the flag", - to give "action in resistance to military training" - "to get 'kicked' out of schools and colleges for refusing to train".

His reply to the one courageous person who was not in line with his thought was that a C.O. is a patriot and serves his country by drawing out a C.O. in the enemy country.

61-777-257

JUN 10 1927

April 21, 1927.

101726

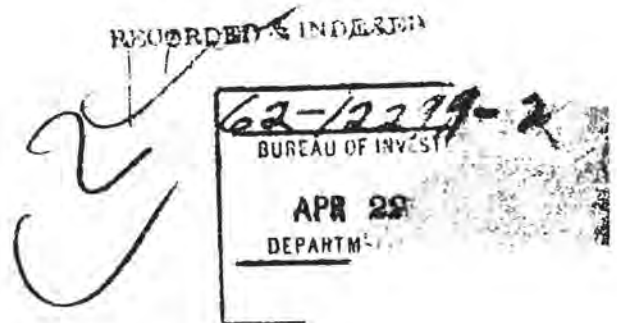
Mr. Harry A. Jung,
158 W. Washington St.,
Chicago, Illinois.

Dear Mr. Jung:

I am in receipt of your communication of the 19th instant, relative to certain activities of the National Council for Prevention of War. I am taking this occasion to refer your letter to Assistant Attorney General Lukring, who is in charge of criminal matters in the Department, and he will, no doubt, communicate with you direct concerning this matter.

Very truly yours,

Director.



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INDEXED

MARGARET M. JUNG
MRS. GARRIE CHAPMAN CATT -
MAY 4, 1927.
MAY 4TH, 1927.

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Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt was born in Ripon, Wisconsin, January 9th, 1859, the daughter of Lucius and Maria (Clinton) Lane. She was educated at Iowa State College and took a special law course. She was principal of high school and general superintendent of schools at Mason City, Iowa. In 1884 she married Lee Chapman, who died in 1888. She married George William Catt in 1890 and he died in 1906.

She was state lecturer and organizer of the Iowa Women Suffrage Alliance from 1890-92 and since then in service of the National American Woman Suffrage Association of which she was president from 1900-03, and since 1916. She has been president of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance since 1904; was the leader in the campaign for the woman suffrage amendment which was passed in 1919 and ratified in 1920. She was a member of the Women's Committee of the Council for National Defense; honorary chairman of the National League of Women Voters; vice chairman of the National Council for the Prevention of War; member of Executive Committee and Board of Directors, and vice president of the League of Nations Non-Partisan Association; honorary president of the Pan-American Union of Women; member of the National Council of the Foreign Policy Association; honorary president of the Peruvian Council of Women; member of the National Committee of the Women's National Committee for Law Enforcement; chairman of the Women's Peace Party; honorary president of the Inter-American Union of Women; proposer of the Federal Department of Education and Public Welfare; one of the sponsors of the International Student Fellowship. In 1917 she was active in the establishing of the Second Emergency Peace Federation. She is an endorser of the Lane pamphlet and contributor to "The World Tomorrow".

Excerpts from an article captioned "Results - What Happened After the Most Dramatic Speech I Ever Heard" by Anna Steeds Richardson follows:

"It all started three years ago, when the National League of Women Voters held its annual convention in Cleveland, Ohio. Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt was to close the public mass meeting with a speech on the general objects and aims of the League. But the unexpected happened. Will Irwin, who had been a war correspondent in France, related some of his experiences and pictured the horrors of the next world war. Mrs. Catt (lung has manuscript aside, came down to the front of the stage and made an appeal which thrilled those of us who heard it to our very souls. Then on the silence of those who literally held their breath, she cried - 'The people in this room can put an end to war!'

"But a few women who heard that speech could not forget it, and in a quiet way they began to work through their local organizations. The National League of Women Voters immediately formed its department of international cooperation to prevent war.

"Next the General Federation of Women's Clubs organized a department of international relations. Members began to receive letters from you to hold. Then you at

men's Clubs organized a members began to receive letters from you to hold. Then you at

about for speakers, to your surprise you found men from state universities eager to address your gathering without charge. The leaven injected by a little group of women was working.

"Mrs. Catt, always in demand as a speaker, traveled indefatigably and organization women whom she met to hear her talk on 'Woman's Position in World Affairs' remained to be thrilled by her address on peace. In the fall of 1923, having heard about Mrs. Catt's quiet campaign, I wrote an article for Collier's Weekly, urging the women's organizations to unite under Mrs. Catt's leadership in a drive for world peace. In the spring of 1924, [redacted] of Wisconsin, one of the most popular organization women in the Middle West, started a movement for a Conference on the Cause and Cure of War. She visited practically every national convention of women held that year.

"On January 19, 1926, the Conference opened in Washington, D.C., with Mrs. Catt presiding. The women who had heard her speech in Cleveland had begun to put an end to war. . . .

"Results?" she (Mrs. Catt) echoed in her firm serene voice. "We saw them before we adjourned. When the Conference opened I was prepared for a deluge of hostile letters. They are always written to the leader in a new or controversial cause. None came. Not a single fanatic or crank took his pen in hand. Instead I received many letters of commendation, and before the Conference closed we had promise of support from organizations and individuals as far west as the Pacific coast. Our country wants peace.

"On the day our Conference closed, the great national missionary conference opened in Washington and many of us stopped over for its sessions. Here was a gathering which convenes only once in five years. Eleven hundred women were in attendance. Twenty-seven women missionaries from as many foreign countries addressed the meetings. Each was given two minutes in which to tell what missionaries had done for international relations and the entire gathering showed an enormous change of thought from war toward peace. When the Church puts international friendship ahead of salvation through doctrine, we have taken a long stride toward world peace.

"I have before me a letter announcing a conference of leaders in the World Alliance for International Friendship Through the Churches, at which practical workers will present their views of the best methods to be pursued in extending their ideals and principles of brotherhood throughout the world. The official who wrote this letter says in part:

"There was never a time in the history of our country when so many people were thinking upon the question of international relations and trying to make up their minds as to the best methods of making possible permanent peace among the nations. One group ardently supports the League of Nations; another is opposed to the League but believes that the best results may be secured through the outlawry of war, while a third group pins its faith on a reorganized and strengthened Hague Tribunal.

"It is a matter of great satisfaction to announce that United States Senator Borah, chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate, welcomes most heartily this conference, and has expressed the view that it has great possibilities. He has accepted our invitation to be present and participate in the discussion!"

In the "Pennsylvania Bulletin" of September 1926 (official organ of the Pennsylvania League of Women Voters), there appears an article

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entitled "Shall the Liquor Forces Return to Control Politics?" by Mrs. Catt. Throughout this article she used the word "rebellion" with great freedom. A few excerpts for example are:

"We need no more education to rebel against political conspiracies. . . . Will you allow any power whatever to steal from you the significance of the vote you struggled so long to win? My suggestion is probably impractical. The only thing certainly right about it is the proposal of rebellion. No wrong was ever righted by obedience to those who have sponsored that wrong. Wrong was ever righted by rebellion against those who stand for that wrong. . . . Is it true that you women have no influence as regulators, as standpatters? Then try the path of rebellion and blaze a new trail to decency and honor for your party and your nation. . . . But you can only win through rebellion."

Her statements in regard to politics may be perfectly right, but it is hardly wise to advocate "rebellion" to rectify anything that does not happen to coincide with her views.

Her connection with the National Council for the Prevention of War is sufficient to condemn her as a supporter and advocate of subversive propaganda. As vice chairman of this organization she is associated with Jane Addams, Mrs. A. L. [redacted] Bishop Francis J. McConnell, [redacted] who are her fellow [redacted]

In an article captioned "The Outgrown Doctrine of Monroe", which appears in the November issue of "The World Tomorrow", Mrs. Catt attacks the government policy of administration of the Monroe Doctrine and states:

"A book of quotations from newspapers, current writers, books and speeches, might be gathered showing collectively the spirit of our Spanish neighbors, voicing in varying degrees the declaration of one powerful editor: 'The Doctrine of Monroe is the shield and buckler of United States aggression; it is a sword suspended by a hair over the Latin continent.'"

"The Churchman" (radical religious weekly) of December 11, 1926, states:

"Nearly one thousand women gathered at a luncheon 'for better Pan-American understanding' at the Hotel Commodore, recently, under the auspices of the Women's Cooperating Committee of the Educational Advance in South America, and subscribed over \$43,000 for the support of North American evangelical schools on the sister Continent! These subscriptions bring the amount so far raised in the campaign for \$2,509,000, now being carried on by the Committee on Educational Advance in South America, to approximately \$800,000.

"Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt presided at the luncheon. Among the principal speakers were Bishop Wm. F. Oldham, Methodist Episcopal Bishop of South America on 'Christian Leadership under the Southern Cross'; Dr. Mary E. Colley, President of Mount Holyoke College, on 'Education as an International Bond'; Mrs. Percy V. Pennybacker, former president of the General Federation of Women's Clubs, on 'Women's Party in Inter-American Fellowship'; Dr. William Hiram Foulkes, pastor of the Old First Presbyterian Church of Newark, N.J., on 'North America's Responsibility'; Dr. Samuel Day Inman, secretary of the Committee on Cooperation in Latin America; and Mrs. Mower Charles Miel, chairman of the Women's Cooperating Committee."

An article in the "New York Times" of June 4, 1926, captioned "Mrs. Catt Explains Ban on Women's Party" quotes Mrs. Catt as follows:

"For thirty years and more certain organizations in the United States have been engaged in obtaining special legislation to assist working women, notably the Consumers' League and the Women's Trade Union League". Mrs. Catt said in reply to a question about the fundamental points of difference between the National Woman's Party

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and the League of Women Voters.

"After women won the vote in the United States, the Women's Party preferred to work for a Federal amendment to give equal rights under the law to women with men. The Consumers' League and the Women's Trade Union League protested and the Federation of Labor sided with them. If such an amendment to the constitution became effective it would either take away from women the protective legislation they have secured or bring men under the same laws. The women workers have no such organization as the men and need protection.

"The League of Women Voters endorses the industrial program of the Women's Trade Union League and the Consumers' League and is opposed to the amendment sponsored by the National Woman's Party. The National Woman's Party centers around its proposed constitutional amendment to remove all special protective legislation for women, while the league, State by State, seeks to remove women's civil disabilities."

The Second Conference on the Cause and Cure of War was held in 1935, December 5 to 10 inclusive, in Washington, D. C. Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt presided as chairman when the conference was opened by a mass meeting at the Belasco Theater, Sunday afternoon, December 5. "America" was sung and Mrs. Catt announced that this was really an international song since we had stolen the tune from England and the words from Germany and that she had been at gatherings where "America" was sung and each nationality sang their own words meaning their own country as the land of liberty. Amongst the participating organizations present at this conference were:

American Association of University Women.

Council of Women for Home Missions.

Federation of Women's Boards of Foreign Missions of
North America

General Federation of Women's Clubs

National Board of the Young Women's Christian Associations.

National Council of Jewish Women.

National League of Women Voters.

National Woman's Christian Temperance Union.

National Women's Trade Union League.

Seven of these nine organizations are constituents of the National Council for the Prevention of War and are also members of the Women's Joint Congressional Committee.

In an address, Mrs. Catt lauded [redacted] as one of the "big women of America and of the world" and she deplored the ignorance of the sections of the country where [redacted] had been refused the privilege of speaking as a representative of the National Council for the Prevention of War.

In a press report from the "New York Times" of February 15, 1935, Mrs. Catt is quoted as stating in an address before the "World Alliance for International Friendship, at Palm Beach, Florida, that "The United States never fought a war of defense but the common people who did the fighting were fooled into the belief that they were engaging in such a war." She stated further that "In all the wars in history the people who made up the armies were sure they were fighting a war of defense when in reality that was only propaganda handed out by the governments of the various countries to justify war.

The report concludes by quoting Mrs. Catt as follows:

"Patriotism which formerly meant love of country, now means a constant preparation for war. A pacifist formerly was a person who believed in peace, now he is a traitor who would not oppose the overthrow of our government - a person who helps the Communists."

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The "Chicago Herald and Examiner" of February 13, 1927, in an article captioned "Mrs. Catt Urges Union of English Speaking Nations" states as follows:

"A stirring plea for world arbitration and for the suppression of the spirit of suspicion that exists between nations, was made by Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, feminist leader, in a speech before the Los Angeles League of Women Voters here today.

"Peace rests upon a three-legged pedestal," Mrs. Catt declared fervently. "The three legs are arbitration, security and disarmament."

"She deplored the suspicion with which American motives are looked upon in Europe. Suggestions for disarmament emanating from Washington are viewed by many nations in Europe, Mrs. Catt said, as a maneuver to make them stop buying arms in order that they may pay the money thus saved to the United States.

"Mrs. Catt suggested that the first step in securing arbitration treaties should be taken by Canada.

"The United States people have a great sense of security with the great friendly nation to the north," she said.

"After a treaty with Canada has been negotiated, Mrs. Catt declared a similar treaty should be made with Great Britain, insuring at least a union of the English-speaking nations."

Mrs. Catt's name also appears as a member of the Advisory Committee on the Proportional Representation League which has headquarters at 1417 Locust Street, Philadelphia, Pa. This is an international organization which sponsors what is known as the "Hare System" said to be in use to some extent in other countries.

Other prominent pacifists, socialists and radicals whose names appear on the Committee of this organization are Professor John R. Commons of Wisconsin University, Miss Jane Addams, Prof. Charles A. Beard,

and many others.

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ATIONAL C I

RODUCTS INDUST. R S ASSOCIATION

AMBER OF COMMERCE BUILDIN

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

TELEPHONE DEARBORN 1946



GENERAL COUNSEL: GOOD, CHILDS, BOBB & WESCOTT
MEMBER { LEAGUE FOR INDUSTRIAL RIGHTS
NATIONAL INDUSTRIAL CONFERENCE BOARD
ZANESVILLE, OHIO OFFICE
218 PEOPLES BANK BLDG.

May 25th, 1926

JUN 1 - 19

Dear Friends:

Enclosed find copy of Scott
Nearing meeting report.

I am sorry that stress of work
delayed this report from reaching you at an
earlier date.

Very truly yours,

H. A. Jung

Encl.

RECORDED & INDEXED

62-722-772

BUREAU

MAY 29 1926 P.M.

USE 2100

STABILITY OF RUSSIAN SOVIET GOVERNMENT - SCOTT NEARING MEETING HELD UNDER AUSPICES OF LEAGUE FOR INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY - PLAY HOUSE, WASHINGTON, D.C. - SATURDAY, MAY 8, 1926.

* * * * *

No Washington, D.C., newspaper carried any account of this meeting.

Scott Nearing, teacher, author, lecturer, research worker and character-analyst, who thoroughly understands mob psychology, is one of the most dangerous radicals in America. He has years of pernicious and subversive activities against the U. S. A. government to his credit. He was the speaker at the Washington Play House, Saturday night, May 8, 1926, under the auspices of the League for Industrial Democracy, formerly the Intercollegiate Socialists League. His subject was "The Stability of the Russian Government".

The Play House was packed (although fifty cents admission fee was charged). Every seat in the auditorium and galleries was taken, while numbers of people stood to hear this proponent of Bolshevism and Socialism, not only for Russia, but for all the world, strike sledge-hammer blows at the existing capitalistic governments, the U. S. A. receiving especial attention, in his terrific onslaught. The audience was composed of Anarchists, Communists, Socialists, and Liberals, with a preponderance of Communists, who applauded to the echo every reference made to the superiority of the Russian Sovietic Government as compared with the governments of Great Britain, France, Germany, Italy and the U. S. A. All questions which reflected discredit on the specific angles of the Communist regime were answered in a masterly way. The outstanding, glaring, pernicious iniquities, existing in Russia under the Communists, too well known throughout the world to be denied, were tacitly acknowledged, but Scott Nearing, in answering those questions, showed himself the master of the situation and convinced the audience that though these conditions exist in Russia, they also exist in every other country of the world, while Russia's superiority to the other governments along other lines was eloquently extolled.

At the Play House the atmosphere was tense. There were no flags, no flowers, no music; these usual accessories which public speakers generally have to attract crowds and create the atmosphere for the lecture, were not necessary. The audience eagerly, tensely awaited the words of commendation of communistic Russia by the speaker, who had just returned from an inspection tour of the Soviet Government. Scott Nearing spoke from 8:15 until a quarter to eleven, first presenting his subject, "The Stability of the Russian Government", and afterwards answering every question which was asked, whether it was Anarchist, Communist, or Social Democrat, always showing the superiority of the Russian government, always belittling everything in the United States, and casting aspersions upon the "Capitalist Press", the Government, and the deluded Americans who still believe in the old social order, as opposed to the new social order. The audience was with him, applauding to the echo. Scott Nearing boldly asserted that he stood for the Soviet government of Russia, as opposed to all Capitalistic governments, and advocated the establishment of World Sovietism, which is World Communism, and this bold declaration of Bolshevik principles was made in Washington, the seat of Constitutional Government, within a stone's throw of the White House, and almost within the shadow of the Nation's Capital. The ringing words "IT IS OUR BUSINESS TO PREPARE AMERICA BY PROPAGANDA TO DO WHAT RUSSIA DID IN 1917" electrified the audience and brought forth tumultuous applause.

MAPS OF RUSSIA FURNISH DECORATION FOR STAGE

As one entered the Play House, there were maps of Russia on the walls, showing where one-sixth of the territory of the world was ruled by the Communist. The only thing omitted to make you feel that you were not in Moscow was that the meeting was not opened with the singing of the Internationale and that no salute to the Red flag was required. Among the books and pamphlets which were sold at the meeting was a number by Scott Nearing, all bound in red, (his favorite color). The titles were "World Labor Unity", "British Labor Bids for Power", "Glimpses of the Soviet Republic", "Oil and the Germs of War", "Stopping War", "What Happens to Teachers Who Think", "Russia Turns East", "Children of the Revolution", by Anna Louis Strong, "Russia Today", by the Official Trade Unions of Great Britain, "Education in Soviet Russia", and "Ten Days That Shook the World", by John Reed, with introductory by Lenin, and other books. It was stated publicly by the man who had charge of the distribution of literature, that there was not a book store in Washington which would handle these books. (But I think he is mistaken and does not know of some of the unusual book stores in Washington which handle unusual literature, for example, the Linn A.E. Gale book store at 925 D Street, N.W.)

COLLECTION FOR BRITISH STRIKERS

At this meeting, under the auspices of the League for Industrial Democracy, formerly the Intercollegiate Socialists League, resolutions of sympathy for the strike in Great Britain were unanimously passed. A collection of \$100 was quickly made, while one man, in broken English, got up and stated that a great many people had come to the meeting unprepared for donating to the cause of the British strikers, but that he was sure that many would be glad to make donations later to the committee appointed for the purpose of collecting funds, [REDACTED] was [REDACTED] of the committee) this to be done in order that the amount sent from the Washington Chapter of the League for Industrial Democracy would express in a small degree their interest and sympathy. It was stated by Western Starr that the result of the British strike would decide whether or not America would have to go through the same procedure, but one man arose and stated that America would have to fight her own battles regardless of the success of Britain's strike. b7c

Western Starr, whose activities on Capitol Hill and his contacts with other liberal, pacifist, radical, Communist organizations are too well known to comment on, was the Chairman of the evening and introduced the speaker. He was given an ovation when he took the chair. As Chairman, he ruled autocratically, using Czarist methods in suppressing Anarchist and Social-Democrat speakers. Representatives of these organizations wished to emphasize the fact and impress upon the minds of this mixed audience that they, the Anarchists and Social-Democrats, as well as the Communists, were responsible for "doing away with the Czar", but that since the Communists were in power, they were persecuted, imprisoned and tortured. "The idealists (?) (Anarchists and Social-Democrats), were held 'ex comunicado', transferred from prison to prison, and at last to exile. To obtain their freedom, these Anarchists and the Social Democrats had to publicly recant and to acknowledge and accept the Communist government."

THE AUDIENCE GETS A THRILL

The thrill of the evening was when a lady under the stress of great emotion, arose, and in a trembling voice asked Mr. Nearing "the privilege of a question", relative to prison conditions under the Communist regime. She also asked permission to read a paragraph from authoritative data which had been sent through underground passages, delivered from hand to hand until it reached America. As a preface to her question she wished to read this paragraph, which is as follows:

"You must realize, friends, that once in the hands of the G. P. U. a revolutionist has no chance of ever getting free again, unless he consents to desert his banner, to turn

apostate and to recant his former ideas publicly on the pages of the official press. Only such treachery and humiliation can secure his liberty and a piece of bread for his hungry family. But if he refuses to pay this shameful price, his martyrdom leads from concentration camp to prison, from prison to exile, from exile again to prison. Not for any new "offenses", but only because he remains true to his ideals. They sentence us to 3, 5 or 10 years' prison, but they do not liberate us at the expiration of our terms. No, then they send us to exile to the Siberian swamps (tundra), to the frozen North and Polar Circle. Out of the hundred thousands immured in prison and camp only a few individuals ever regain their freedom again."

She was interrupted before she finished the paragraph, and was informed by Western Starr that the people had not gathered to hear other speakers, but to hear Mr. Nearing. Upon inquiry it was learned that this woman was [redacted] who is supposed to be the [redacted] of Emma Goldman, who was imprisoned in Russia under the Bolshevik regime. The information which [redacted] was prevented from giving on the floor, was contained in a bulletin, called "A Cry From Prison", containing excerpts from letters received from prisoners, which bulletin was distributed as the audience was leaving by the Joint Committee for the Defense of Revolutionists Imprisoned in Russia. (This bulletin should be given wide circulation by papers, so as to acquaint the American public with the truth about the Bolshevik policies towards their political prisoners.) In the further discussions relative to Russian prisons, Mr. Nearing commented on the wonderful system of paying prisoners union wages while imprisoned, and stated that the prisons were only to make people fit to be good citizens. He evoked much laughter and applause from the Communists which outnumbered all others in his audience, when he said that Class A prisoners were entitled to two weeks vacation each year, Class B to one week vacation while Class C got no vacation at all. Scott Nearing, when asked pointedly if these conditions existed, stated that the Communists had offered to exchange their political prisoners with the political prisoners of the European countries, and this had been refused, so the only thing the Bolsheviks could do to them was to transfer them from prison to prison or to exile them, because they could not turn loose counter-revolutionists. Mr. Nearing then warned the audience about making public such conditions, for by so doing, he stated, they were furnishing ammunition to the enemies of Russia, citing instances of the expose of these conditions in the "New York Times" and the "Chicago Tribune". This, he emphasized, would not be of benefit to the Soviet government, and that people who did these things, whether they realized it or not, were enemies of Soviet Russia, because they furnished ammunition to the enemy, although they might think they were friends of the Soviet government. A man sitting in the back of the audience, evidently a foreigner or of foreign birth, asked Mr. Nearing if the audience which was hearing him, the self-confessed propagandist for Communism in all the world, and which applauded all his laudatory remarks relative to the Communist governments and his derogatory remarks relative to the capitalistic governments of the world, the United States included, were not enemies of the United States government. Mr. Nearing, while not answering the question directly, stated that he was for Soviet Russia as against the capitalistic governments of the world, and emphasized the fact that our work is to prepare America to do what Russia did in 1917. Mr. Nearing also stated that whoever was for the League of Nations was an enemy of the Soviet Government, since the League of Nations represented the capitalist governments of the world, as opposed to Bolshevism. This remark was violently applauded.

In answer to a question relative to the crime conditions of Russia, as compared with the youthful criminals of America, as featured in the present-day capitalistic press, Scott Nearing had to acknowledge that there were hordes of children wandering about the streets which the Soviet Government has not been able to take care of as it should, because the children are homeless as a result of war, famine and pestilence, and have acquired the hobo method of going from place to place, and when provided with homes would not remain in those homes. But to offset that,

Mr. Nearing called attention to the crimes of venetiful America, and also stated that there were many more murders in Chicago and much more lawlessness than in Moscow, and that he had found life and property as safe, or safer, in Moscow than in Chicago. He was forced to acknowledge that only fifty or sixty per cent of the Russian children were in school, but he excused that state of affairs by saying that they did not have the building in which to house them, but that they were trying to provide schools for the children. He praised the Russian school system and found it, as all things Russian, superior to the so-called civilized countries.

THE HIGH LIGHTS OF SCOTT NEARING'S SPEECH ON THE "STABILITY OF SOVIET GOVERNMENT"

Mr. Nearing emphasized the fact that after a decade the Soviet Republic remains, and that in spite of blockade, hunger, World War and Civil War, and the animosity of all the capitalistic governments of the world, its currency had been stabilized without foreign loans, its industrial conditions were more stable than those of Great Britain, France, Germany and America, whose industrial conditions he described as being chaotic and disunited, and that the workers were better housed, clothed and fed, had shorter hours and more privileges than those of the capitalistic countries, and that after granting these privileges that Russia was able to take part of the capital produced by her industries for the extension of her factories, etc.

He stated that food was plentiful and cheap, and as long as the people got food, shelter, clothes, leisure and culture, that Russia would be a permanent government. The audience laughed when he stated that under the regime of the Czar, there was always time for leisure, recreation and culture for the ruling class, at the expense of the workers, but that the same conditions exist in Russia now for the ruling class (which are the workers) are still the ones enjoying leisure, recreation and culture.

MOSCOW VERSUS NEW YORK

He cited conditions as to the rent paid for a room in Moscow and New York. For instance, he said, a person out of work would be asked for a room 25 cents a month in Russia. One with a job would be asked 50 cents a month, and one in business for himself would be asked \$1.50 a month, while a profiteer in Russia would be asked \$5 to \$50 a month for the same room. In New York, he said, the housing situation was run for the benefit of the landlord, and that there were fixed prices for rooms, and if the poor people could not pay, they could get out. He emphasized the fact that it was the Soviet Government's purpose to see that the people were fed, clothed and taken care of. He said the miners of Russia were better off, better clothed, better fed, and better housed than those of the capitalist countries. They work shorter hours (six hours a day, and have their yearly vacations with pay, and the job awaiting them when they come back. He cited the instance of a young miner who had only worked for about three weeks when he was taken ill. During his illness his salary was paid, as if he were at work, and when he returned he found his job open and knew while he was ill that he would be taken care of. This he contrasted with the work of the miners in the capitalistic countries, with Great Britain as an example, where the miners did not have food, clothes and shelter, and where the conditions were such as led to the general strike.

RUSSIAN PEASANTS PLEASED WITH BOLSHEVISM

Scott Nearing stated that the farmers of Russia were pleased with the Bolshevik government because they had known what the landlord system was under the Czar, and that they also knew that under the Kerensky regime they were ejected by the military from the lands which they had appropriated, but that the Bolsheviks had allowed them to keep the lands which they had tilled and which they had appropriated unto themselves after the Revolution, and that they had a good

market for their products, all of which was conducive to give for the Bolshevik government by the farmers. He said the farmers remembered the taxation under Czarism, and also that their young men were taken from home to serve in the army. Mr. Nearing took pains not to inform the audience that the Bolsheviks also have a Red Army of about a million and a half men, and that compulsory military training and conscription of men, both for the army and for work, has been and is practiced under the Bolsheviks.

Mr. Nearing emphasized that under the Bolsheviks there was stability and continuity of life, and that the Russian people realized this and were therefore pleased with the Bolshevik government.

He also emphasized the fact that Russia was organized in trade unions better than any other country in the world; that 96% of the Russian workers were organized. He impressed upon the audience the power of organization and advocates World Labor Unity, which is no Utopian dream, but is an immediate, pressing necessity, and only awaits the will of the workers for its realization. The steps are:

1. Organization by industry.
2. Every industry to be linked up nationally and internationally.
3. Every struggle, either offensive or defensive, to be fought nationally or internationally.

He also gave a graphic account of the factory workers in Russia and of the independence and self-respect of even the lowest worker, who thought himself the equal of the highest, and who spoke in such proud terms of "our factory", "our kindergartens", "our clubrooms", "our towns" and "our Government". He advised the audience to get the report of the trade unionists of Germany and of Great Britain, who went to Russia on a tour of inspection as to the labor conditions and who made the statements that the workers of Russia had privileges and were in better condition than the workers of the capitalistic countries. He took pleasure in contrasting the ragged, miserable, hungry workers of Poland, crushed under the heel of militarism, with the free, happy, contented workers of Russia across the border line, and paid his respects to the military guard who patrolled the border to keep the Bolsheviks from entering Poland, stating that Poland was afraid for her people to know the truth about the Soviet Government.

Scott Nearing, in his speaking tours, is carrying out a part of the plans, program and policies outlined by him in 1922, in a pamphlet "League of Industrial Democracy", formerly the Intercollegiate Socialists Society. The whole plan included the establishment of a department for the promotion of research and pamphleteering or technique of distribution to create a demand and get the pamphlets into the workers' hands so that they would read them and the idea would be driven home. All kinds of organizations were listed, literary societies, women's clubs, civic organizations, and it was decided to send speakers of their own kind to talk to them in their own language concerning the problems of the new social order. It was planned to route speakers who knew the labor movement from first hand experience; to send poets with the flaming vision of the new world; philosophers of the new order, technicians with the practical plans of bringing it about, and in every case to follow the speakers with pamphlets containing facts that will solidify into convictions the emotions aroused by the speakers. The main object of all the speaking and pamphleteering was to drive the idea home, for

"THE IDEA BECOMES A POWER WHEN IT PENETRATES THE MASSES"
(Karl Marx).

The League for Industrial Democracy, under whose auspices Mr. Scott Nearing spoke, is connected by an interlocking directorate with every outstanding pacifist, liberal, radical, Communist organization in America, working for destruction of national defense, constitutional government and American industry. Through its interlocking directorate, it also is using the Garland Fund to do its work. This fund amounts to about a million and a half dollars, to be spent within the next two years, and from the feverish activities of the League, it looks as if it will be spent and bring results. These facts and facts are stubborn things. America is menaced by Bolshevism, strong, well-financed, and "within the gate". Will it take blood to the magnitude of this malevolent movement menacing civilization?
UPIA - 5/25/26.

ENCLOSURE



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April 27th, 1926

THIS CONCERNS YOU:

Perhaps the most noteworthy thing to be found in communist manifestos, propaganda and other papers of recent origin in communist circles is the unmistakable evidence that they have once again taken stock of the situation, readjusted their scale of values both as to their own powers and the resistance (largely inertia) to be overcome and have set their pace accordingly. From all of which we may safely predict that henceforth a slow but steady growth in numerical strength may be anticipated in communist ranks in America.

"BUSINESS STATESMANSHIP" herewith enclosed is unquestionably the clearest analysis of whither we are drifting. It is our earnest hope that you will read this from cover to cover and then cast about you to commence forthwith to do those things that you can, to prevent the ultimate domination of the dangerous "boring from within" that is going on to overthrow our present system of society, including the disruption of the home, the overthrow of the government and the demolition of religion.

If there are any "doubting Thomases", the writer would gladly work overtime to convince them of the reality of the picture here presented.

Very truly yours,
NATIONAL CLAY PRODUCTS INDUSTRIES ASSN.
PER
COMMISSIONER
H. A. Jung

HAI:AS

PARTIAL LIST OF COMPANIES COOPERATING IN LOS ANGELES

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SOUTHERN COUNTIES GAS COMPANY
BAKER IRON WORKS
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BOYLE MANUFACTURING COMPANY
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AXELSON MACHINE COMPANY
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HOME ICE COMPANY
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AND MANY MORE, BESIDES HUNDREDS OF WORKINGMEN

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that has already enlisted the cooperation of large numbers of
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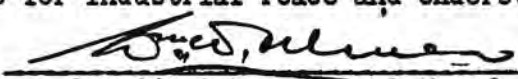
The object of the movement is to establish a sound economic
structure that will help to solve our industrial problems and thus
promote the general prosperity through better understanding.

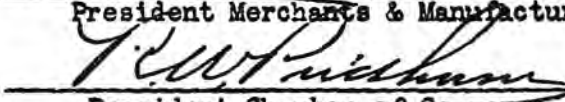
We have read the book. We agree with Dr. John Wesley Hill, Chan-
cellor of Lincoln Memorial University. that "It should be in every
home, within easy reach of every member of the household." It helps
the worker to succeed. It gives the business man a broader view.
Every high school and college student and teacher should read it.
It contains and explains the Constitution with amendments to date,
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interest. The Chamber of Commerce is helping. Senator Cartwright
does not want contributions. He does need our cooperation. We urge
you to get in touch with him at once, and to give thoughtful con-
sideration to his plans. We have faith in the movement, in the book
and in the author.

Yours for Industrial Peace and Understanding,


President Merchants & Manufacturers Association


President Chamber of Commerce

Los Angeles, California



*“Business
Statesmanship”*



MARCH 18, 1926

"Business Statesmanship"

Address of

Mr. Harry Curran Wilbur

Managers' Consultant and Nationally Known
Analyst in Economics

*"—and they say they're
not getting anywhere"*

Before The
Sixth Annual Meeting
National Clay Products
Industries Association



DRAKE HOTEL
CHICAGO
March 18, 1926



"Destructive forces now operating throughout the world may invoke the name of liberty, but their object is not to make men free, but to oppress; not to establish the self-government of a people, but the dictatorship of a class; not to promote the co-operative endeavor of a free community engaged in a common cause, but to secure an arbitrary control over the lives and liberties of others, albeit through new forms. Against these latest and most insidious assaults we must build our redoubts and man them with patriots of peace, equipped with common sense and the teachings of past struggles and fired with as unquenchable a zeal as that of heroes in arms."

—CHARLES EVANS HUGHES.

Business Statesmanship

If there be any present who think from subject of my talk that I am here to make political speech I beg him to disabuse himself of that idea immediately. With the clash of claims of vociferous partisanship I am not at all concerned. Let us dismiss them for the trifles that they necessarily are.

My subject is statesmanship — "Business Statesmanship." That is something infinitely greater than mere partisan politics. It was the latter that Lord Macaulay referred to as "the petty craft so often mistaken for statesmanship by minds grown narrow in habits of intrigue, jobbery and official etiquette." If one did not know that Macaulay had long since been gathered to his fathers he might readily believe that the distinguished Briton, when he penned those words, had just finished reading our recent reports on legislative and official functioning.

Some cynic, not quite so kindly as Lord Macaulay in his phrasing, has declared that statesmanship is a dead politician. If that were true I think we could survive as a nation if ninety-nine and a fraction per cent of our politicians became statesmen over night, though such apotheosis might have a disastrous effect on the mortality tables and on the accumulated reserves of the life insurance companies.

The cynic's definition is not true. Statesmanship is immeasurably bigger and better than that and never since this America of yours and mine emerged from the dark and troublous days of its founding has there been such a crying need for statesmanship in a bewildered, war-befuddled and discordant world. Statesmanship is not achieved by dying but by *living* and by so living that one gives life and "gives it more abundantly." I believe, and stand prepared to back my faith by facts, that the future of America and therefore of the world with all its teeming millions of men and women, lies in the capable hands of the American business man, hands that have proven their capability in countless crises, hands sustained by courageous and unfaltering hearts and controlled by trained brains that know, no matter what demagogue or radical or muddle-headed reformer may say about it, are guided by high ideals. You cannot point me to a single great business that does not have at its head a man of high ideals, broad understanding, and demonstrated capability to meet the prob-

lems, be they great or little, that the succeeding days bring forth. I believe in the American business man and in that faith I come to you today in an attempt to drive home the facts about the menace that is striking day after day and with constantly increasing power at the very foundations of our Republic. If words of mine can arouse you to fight for America as "patriots of peace" with the same fervor and courage and economic genius that you gave your country when war threatened its existence even as the subtler menace does today, I shall rest more than content.

I am no peddler of perils; I have no axe to grind; I seek no place in public or private life; I am content with the work my hands have found to do and with the position that I have for the doing of it. I think there are only two things in my life, whatever my little achievements may or may not have been, of which I am genuinely proud. One of them is that I have never refused to raise my voice or to say my say when I thought that the interests of my country required me to do it. The other is that I have never accepted a penny of pay for doing the things that I thought I ought to do for your America and mine. I do not say this boastfully, for I have been actuated in such things solely by recognition of the fact that whatever I am or hope to be I owe to America and that what I owe my country is a debt I can never repay in full. I mention it here only that you may understand that in pointing out the menace that I believe we all must gird ourselves to meet I am not actuated by any desire to make any place of financial emolument to myself.

I am speaking today, as on all such occasions, because I know that there is a force in the field that is striking at the very foundations of our government. I know it because I have studied it and checked up upon it as best I have been able through a period of more than fifteen years. I have read the books put out by its leading proponents. I have studied the propaganda with which they are flooding America and the other countries of the world in which they seek to gain a foothold. I know many of their leaders personally and I have talked to many of them in their homes and in their offices. I have attended their meetings and I have heard them preaching their fevered gospel of discontent from the housetops. I know whereof I speak and if you will check me carefully today you will find that at no time in making charges against them and

in stating the things that they are attempting to do, do I quote from any of the enemies or opponents of the things for which they stand. I shall quote from their own books, from their own readings, from the records they and their allies have made and I care not one whit who is hit thereby. That last phrase is not aimed exclusively by any means at the open and avowed proponents of this radical movement but likewise at those who, whatever their motives may be, knowingly or unknowingly are giving aid and comfort to the enemies of America. If those who may be hit by the record see fit to object to what I may say, now or at some future time, I can only answer that I did not make the record I merely reported it.

This is a vital question. If I did not believe it was I would not be here today to waste your time or my own. I can prove to you that it is vital and that it goes right down into your own businesses and into your own homes. The proof lies in this: No matter what you may think about it you have got to live and you have got to conduct your business, no matter what the business or profession may be, under some form of government. It is for you to decide whether you will continue to live and do business under a government such as ours in which the opportunity is given to you to develop your business and your talents, be they one or ten, to the full or whether you will live and do business under some other form of government. If you think that is not vital, answer in your own mind whether you could conduct your business today if you transplanted it, plant and all, to Russia with all her infinite natural resources. I think the answers in your own minds would prove the point I have sought to make.

As for me my credo is not complex but clear and plain. I know, with a faith that brooks no challenging, that this America of yours and mine is the best and greatest government man has ever known. I shall not waste your time or my own in efforts to prove that statement. Two facts alone make it stand out beyond all hope of its enemies to successfully challenge it. What are those facts? They are that in the short space of a century and a half, a little more than two full life spans, this system of government that we call America has converted a howling wilderness into a center of world culture and has made 100,000,000 penniless immigrants, of you and I or our forebears were all immigrants.

into the richest people on all this earth. The system of government that can do that should need no defense from anyone. And yet it does and its enemies are within it, claiming its protection even as they seek to strike it down and in that nefarious work they are aided and abetted by those who know what they do but lack the courage of the avowed Red and by those who are their dupes, misled by specious appeals to humanitarianism and by phrases that do not mean what they seem to say.

Before I point out that menace in some of its details and before I name to you some of its allies, let us get our definitions straight, for definition of terms is essential to a clear discussion of any subject.

Webster's New International Dictionary defines a statesman as "A man versed in the principles and art of government; especially one who possesses unusual wisdom in treating or directing great public matters."

I ask you to note that under that definition, —and the source is recognized as authoritative, —there is *not* the requirement that the statesman hold any public office. The requirement is that he *understand* the principle and art of government and in particular that he be one "who possesses unusual wisdom in treating or directing great public matters." It is by no means a new idea promulgated by the latest makers of the dictionary. Almost 300 years ago Thomas Fuller in his "History of The Worthies of England" declared, with somewhat quaint phraseology that, "The word statesman is of great latitude, sometimes signifying such who are able to manage offices of state though never actually called there unto." (Chapter 6).

More than a century and a quarter later Burke writing to a member of the National Assembly related how many of the rulers of the earlier days into whose hands the destinies of peoples and nations had been committed were accustomed to consult the stars for guidance as to the time to act. Then he adds:

"Statesmen of a more judicious prescience look for the fortunate moment too; but they seek it, not in the conjunctions and oppositions of planets but in the conjunctions and oppositions of men and things."

There, my friends, is the key to the puzzle to all the confusion that shakes and befuddles the

world today. The "conjunctions and oppositions of men and things" are what must be studied, analyzed and guided so that constructive achievement shall be written on the page of history rather than wreck and disaster. And I say, without fear of successful contradiction that the call for the business statesman sounds clear and distinct above all others because the three great factors of daily life—production, distribution, and consumption of wealth—touch all lives at more points, more vitally, and more constantly than all the other so-called social processes and purely governmental functions combined. Government, after all, exists primarily in order that those three great processes and their dependent corollaries may be carried out in a way that will net the greatest gains to the common weal. Yet those are the problems with which the business man is grappling daily. A man whose experience has been in the solving of them knows and that is why I say that the call today comes clear and distinct for the hand of the business statesman at the helm—for business statesmanship.

The time to act is now; the danger is apathy. The enemies of America count much upon the failure of the business man and the right-thinking American generally to arouse to the danger in time. You know in your own business that the success with which a crisis is handled depends upon the preliminary preparation that was made over a period of years. I take it that in the last analysis the reputation of Noah rests not upon his skill or lack of skill as a navigator but upon the fact that he had sense enough to build the ark while the sun was shining and before the rains began.

Noah is a great comfort to me. When men arise and tell me that I am an alarmist or when someone says that preparing to defend myself and my country is inconsistent with the brotherhood of man, or when others say, as they have said, that I have read and studied this subject so long that my viewpoint is warped and that nothing is going to happen, I think of Noah. I like to picture him out there busy building a ark with only a little handful of his immediate

family helping him do it. There is no doubt in my mind that some of the older men of the village came down, found fairly comfortable seats, whittled up sticks and shook their heads sagely and winked wisely when strangers passing by asked Noah what he was doing. I have no doubt that there were cracker-barrel statesmen in those days who sat up at the village store and declared that there never had been a flood and so certainly there never would be one and that Noah was just a little cracked. I have no doubt that at times some of his lumber was stolen and used for purposes other than ark building and I am reasonably certain that even when the rains began there were some who looked at the overcast skies and declared that in their opinion it would only be a shower and not such a whale of a shower at that. It is even probable that there were some who, when they saw the animals parading into the ark, went about charging that Noah had some ulterior purpose and that probably ultimately he was going to charge them something to see the animals that he had collected. Yes, the more I think of Noah the more comfort I find in his story.

Let us leave Noah to the just slumbers of all good navigators and look now at the forces that are assembling to strike at America and I shall try to point out how their plan seeks to destroy this government of yours and mine by first making it impossible for you to carry on your business successfully.

The radical movement throughout the world centers around a great organization, the headquarters of which are in Moscow. It is two-headed, and that fact should be kept in mind because that goes direct to one of the questions that are involved, to a phase of the whole problem that is even now before the Congress of the United States sponsored in the Senate by Senator Borah of Idaho and in the House, by Congressman Sabath of Illinois. I refer to the resolutions for the recognition of Soviet Russia. One head of this organization is the Soviet government proper, properly known as the United Socialist Soviet Republics. Then there is the Communist International, or Third International, popularly known as the Comintern. Technically they are separate and distinct; practically they are one and the same, because the same group of men form a majority in each group and absolutely dominate each group. It

is the interlocking directorate carried to a extent of which the American business man never dreamed. They are as inseparable as the famous Siamese twins. I was not blessed—made it cursed, if you prefer it—with the senatorial or congressional mind. As I understand it Senator Borah and Congressman Sabath want to recognize the United Socialist Soviet Republics, but not the Comintern. They say it can be done, and, of course, the Premier of the U. S. S. R. agrees with them as he will at Gregory Zinoviev, head of the Comintern, who also agrees with them. Personally I shall agree with them only when I see them demonstrate how it is possible to invite one Siamese twin to dinner when the other stays down at the theater and puts on her show.

In this connection, too, I ask you to note the fact. The Commissar of Foreign Affairs for the United Socialist Soviet Republics is Georg Tchitcherin. The Comintern has no foreign department. Why? Because under their theory territory that does not recognize the absolute control of the Comintern is "occupied territory" and which must ultimately be redeemed from the enemy forces that hold it. Senator Borah and Congressman Sabath want to recognize the twin that has a foreign department. The result of any such action will be that all the efforts of the twin with the foreign department will be put forth to make it unnecessary to have any foreign department here. Note this—I expect neither the Senator nor the Congressman to consider it—there is no liaison officer or minister from the United Socialist Soviet Republics to the Comintern nor vice versa. The thing about this organization that makes it worth while to those who head it lies in the fact that when it has happened in every country that has recognized Soviet Russia, there has been a violation of the laws of hospitality and diplomatic usage; the representatives of Soviet Russia solemnly state that they did nothing at all but that what ever happened, including the propaganda, was put out by the Comintern. It has proven wonderfully effective, but in many ways it is nothing more nor less than the old fashioned she game rigged out in a dress suit.

Usually, when I attempt to discuss this thing informally, someone tells me that be this as may, the thing isn't getting anywhere. Not getting anywhere? Eight and one-half years ago it did not exist at all. Today one-sixth of the inhabitable land areas of the world owe allegiance to the flag of Soviet Russia; eight an

ing Bolshevik literature among the American soldiers in the Army of Occupation and who was arrested therefor by the military authorities. His release ultimately followed and the report made to me from a source that I consider authoritative was that this release grew out of the fact that Minor's father was the intimate friend of Colonel E. M. House, confidant and advisor-in-chief to the then President of the United States.

Oh my friends, it is a long, long trail and a winding one and I only wish that time permitted me to trace it out for you in full.

I want you to rid your minds of the thought that this whole movement is primarily an alien proposition. That is why I have tried to drive home these facts about the leaders of the movement in America. It is not alien except that it is foreign to everything that is American and that its great headquarters are in Moscow. Its leaders in this country, as I have pointed out, are native-born and they work among the native-born and the foreign-born. I hold in my hand a confidential booklet, officially issued by Communists late in the year 1925 for circularization only among their tested membership, called the Fourth National Convention. It gives the official report on the membership by districts and by language sections. I shall have occasion to refer to this a little later in connection with the matter of Communist finances but for the present I wish to point out that their membership rolls in their own confidential reports as of June 30, 1925, show that the largest membership classified by the language that they speak is Finnish, with *second place* going to the English speaking federation. Get what that means and especially when they try to tell you that this is an alien proposition. They are aliens in head and heart and it is that kind of alien, regardless of where he may or may not have been born, with whom it is high time that we in America were dealing.

Before I leave this Bridgman convention and the arrests that grew out of it, I want to point out another thing for the benefit of those who say that this movement is not getting anywhere. All of the prisoners, with some sixteen exceptions, were promptly able to secure bail and were released. The remaining sixteen, to while away the time while their "comrades" were scurrying up bail for them, devised various ways and means of passing the tedious hours. Among

other things that they did—I have this over the signature of T. J. O'Flaherty, one of the ranking Communists in America, one of the Bridgman defendants, and who is now the editor of *The Labor Defender* about which I shall have something to say later—they passed along among themselves some sheets of paper on which each wrote his views on different subjects and such items of the world news as came in to them. They called it their own paper and then they named it *The Daily Worker*. I now show you a copy of a six-page daily known as *The Daily Worker*, the only Communist daily printed in the English language. I find from the official Communist report that for the period between January 1 and June 27, 1925,—I am reading now from page 160 of their official report *The Fourth National Convention*—that the subscriptions to the *Daily Worker* brought in \$25,554.52; that the dealers' sales brought in \$10,111.67; and that the *Daily Worker* advertising brought in \$3,155.05, making a total of \$38,821.24 income on the *Daily Worker* in a six months period just three years after that little sheet was circulating in the Michigan jail. And then they tell me that this movement is not getting anywhere!

If one is curious and will turn to page 16 of this official Communist report—if the comrades will let him have one for study and if not he can look over mine—he will find that the own real estate and the building upon it of the value of \$43,744.67, to which should be added machinery and equipment valued at \$46,021.02; plus furniture and fixtures valued at \$3,087.67; and then an item that they enter "delivery equipment" figured at \$867.56, making a total of \$93,720.92. Just like the financier who helped them along by taking a mortgage of \$22,810 on the building, they figure depreciation at \$8,030.94 which leaves them a net balance for their plant on this particular asset of \$85,689.98 as of June 27, 1925. Personally I think they have come quite a way since those August days in jail in 1922. Keep in mind, too, that this is now the great centralized Communist publishing headquarters issuing not only this daily but a monthly, semi-monthly for children, books and pamphlets and the steadily growing "Little Red Library." These are cold figures, considered good enough by a financier to warrant the advancement of \$22,000 protected by a mortgage and y

others tell me that I am really an alarmist and that this movement is not getting anywhere.

Before I close my talk I shall have something more to say on the financial support that is back of this organization but for the present I want to point out that a goodly part of its effectiveness grows out of the fact that it is so shrewdly directed that every penny that it spends and every energy that it puts forth moves toward the goal that its leaders seek. It is no haphazard organization with which we are dealing. It is a real organization and disciplined to an extent that military commanders might well envy. Let me illustrate this point by an actual happening, a happening that conclusively proves not only the discipline of this organization but that its real leadership is in Moscow.

Approximately two years ago a factional split began developing in the Communist organization in America. It was bitter and it hinged primarily on the methods to be used in the matter of the appeal to the masses to the end of getting into the field a mass class party. One faction was led by William Z. Foster, at that time Chairman of the Central Executive Committee of the Workers (Communist) Party of America and now in Moscow attending both the sessions of the extended executive of the Comintern and the Allied Red International of Labor Unions, the sessions of which are just beginning. The Foster faction was known as the majority faction. The other faction, known as the minority faction, was led by C. E. Ruthenberg, at that time Executive Secretary of the Central Executive Committee but now General Secretary and the ranking leader of the entire organization. The last annual convention of the party assembled in Chicago on the 20th day of August last year, with sixty-three delegates present. Two delegates, one from Minnesota and the other, as I recollect, from Boston, were unseated leaving the convention with sixty-one delegates, forty of whom were controlled by Foster. For the first eight days of the convention the vote on every proposition, except two on which the vote was unanimous, was 40-21. It came with monotonous regularity—40-21, 40-21, 40-21.

Then, late at night on the closing Friday of the convention a change occurred, a startling change in many ways. P. Green—rather a strange name for a Communist and a stranger color—took the floor. P. Green is not his real

name. This is his American party name. I have had several reports made to me as to what his real name is but I am confident that I do not yet have the correct answer and so we will let him go into the record as Comrade P. Green. What I do know is that he was the direct representative of the Communist International. He presented to the convention cabled instructions from Moscow, over the signature of Gregory Zinoviev, in which it was ruled that the minority faction, led by Ruthenberg, was closer to the ideals and plans of the Communist International than was the majority group in control of Foster and that therefore the Ruthenberg program must go through. Thereupon the 40-21 vote of the preceding eight days disappeared and it was 61, 61, 61 all the way through except on certain measures on which some of the Foster followers declined to vote at all. Ruthenberg was placed in complete control of the party organization, with minority representation ordered for the Foster faction. Foster himself, who is an exceptionally competent organizer and who had made a reputation of a sort in the industrial field, emerged from that convention not as Chairman of the Executive Committee but in charge of the industrial department. Since P. Green upset the color scheme the official orders to the Communists in America are issued over the signature of Ruthenberg alone. This incident—it can easily be established by the official Communist records, reports on which are in my possession—proves the discipline of the party organization and proves conclusively that the real leadership is in Moscow. Keep these two points in mind because through them you will more easily understand the real objectives that are sought in the general plan that I shall hastily outline.

Allied with this central Communist organization, through a system of interlocking directorates that keeps the control where the real leaders want it kept but which makes it easy to mislead and to make dupes of thousands of men and women who know not what they do are many others. Among them I may mention the American Civil Liberties Union, which has been so thoroughly exposed as a matter of public record by Congressman Blanton; The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, the most active spirit in which is Jan Addams of Hull House fame; The Fellowship of Reconciliation, which sounds innocuous and futile but which is constantly aiding and abet

ting the Communist plans; The Fellowship of Youth for Peace, about which I shall have something very definite to say a little later; The League for Industrial Democracy, of which Paul Blanshard is the most active field worker and official and which is the successor of the old Intercollegiate Socialist Society; The International Labor Defense whose active leader is James Cannon, one of Foster's chief lieutenants and who numbers among its supporters Rev. David Rhys Williams of the Unitarian Church of Chicago, David Starr Jordan, Eugene V. Debs, Charlotte Anita Whitney, William Holly of Chicago, the deposed Episcopal Bishop William Montgomery Brown, Upton Sinclair, the California socialist and author, Clarence Darrow of Chicago, and many others. I am not making blank charges now that I cannot sustain. I submit in evidence Vol. 1, No. 1, of The Labor Defender, the official organ of the International Defense and edited by T. J. O'Flaherty to whom I have referred heretofore and I ask you to note that it reproduces in facsimile the cablegrams that were sent over the signatures of these men, to the Premier of Hungary protesting against the proposed execution of Mathias Rakosi, Peoples Commissar in the Red revolutionary cabinet of Bela Kun that was established under the leadership of one Pogany, known in Europe as "the Red Napoleon," known in America by his party name of John Pepper and who was in this country at the Communist convention preceding that of last year as the direct representative of the Communist International, in that role preceding P. Green. These men and women that I have mentioned do all this in the name of labor! And they call it an American movement though I ask you to note that in the very name of their organization they ripped off the camouflage and called it the *International Labor Defense*.

Time will not permit me to even mention all of these organizations that are functioning as allies, whether they know it or not, of this Communist movement. There are some of them however on which I must touch and as a basis for it let me briefly summarize the general tactics of the Communist International and show you how they hope to make you and men like you pay the bills while they breed discontent among your employes and among the college youth of America with a view to tying it all in on the world revolution that they hope to precipitate.

They recognize clearly, as does all the world, that the Russian revolution that deposed the Czar and put Lenin and Trotzky into power could not have succeeded had the army and navy of Russia remained loyal. They had corrupted the army on the fighting front in the World War with their slogans of hurrying homeward for the division of the land. What is more they had corrupted the garrison at Kronstadt and the capital, and when the authorities of Petrograd—now Leningrad—called upon the garrisons to stand against the surging Red-led mobs the garrisons revolted and the Lenin regime began with the government technically in the hands of the Soldiers and Sailors Councils. The Communist leaders learned and demonstrated that the success of any revolutionary movement would depend upon the refusal of the military forces to stand loyally by the constituted government, and with that lesson in mind they began directing their forces to undermining the loyalty of the men in the military and naval service of the countries that did not recognize the control of the Comintern. You do not have to take my word for that. I now read you the report, of a portion of the report adopted at this year's meeting of the Russian Communist Party by vote of 559 for, 65 against and with 41 delegates absent. I have this report as officially transmitted to this country by what is known as the International Press Correspondence, the official Communist transmitting agency and a further formally reported in the Daily Worker, official organ of the Workers' (Communist) party of America, in its issue of February 8, 1926. Let me direct your attention now to two of the five principal points of foreign policy as thus officially laid down.

Number 2 is "To conduct a peace policy to form the center of the whole foreign policy of the Soviet government and to be at the basis of all its international actions."

Number 5 is "To take all measures to consolidate the defensive forces of the country (Russia) and to strengthen the Red army, navy and air fleet."

How clear that is! Even a befuddled uplift or a humanitarian pacifist ought to get it. peace policy, which means disarmament as the basis of all its foreign policy which says, in just so many words, that it will urge all other nations to disarm and to weaken their military and naval forces. Yet at the same time it declares

that same over-arming vote that it will build up its own Red army, navy and air fleet against the day when the international plotters in Moscow shall swing it into action. This is their own record that I am quoting that is why I say that the peace societies and the pacifists, and I particularly include in that group Frederick J. Libby's National Council for the Prevention of War, who argue that America should disarm beyond the point of defense, play directly into the hands of the Red leaders in Moscow. That is why I say that they are striking at the very life of this Republic no matter what they may think they are doing and no matter how greatly they have been misled by the suave speakers and agitators who are looking and plotting and working for the world revolution that they hope to bring about.

Let me go now a step further. I want to quote now from an article written by Earl R. Browder, one of the leading Communists in America and one of the most active workers in the Communist-controlled Trade Union Educational League. I am quoting now from his article "Make It a Party of Leninism" printed on September 27, 1924, at the Communist headquarters in America at 1113 West Washington Street, Chicago, in which he argues for "the systematic preparation of the armed forces of the bourgeoisie state for refusal to fire upon their brother workers when ordered to do so by the capitalist masters." If you want to know what he means think back to those Soldiers and Sailors Councils in the Russian Capital. Oh, I have no doubt that some Communist speaker and perhaps some labor leader who knowingly or unknowingly aids or abets him will say that Comrade Browder did not mean that at all but that he meant simply that the troops would be taught not to fire upon strikers if troops, State or Federal, should be called into the field in the event of labor troubles. I do not propose to let him get away with anything like that. Let me read you now another selection from another article by the same Browder:

"Immersed in the practical affairs of daily life we have neglected what will soon become one of the most practical and pressing problems of the movement. And for the ultimate struggle for power, we know that upon this problem being solved depends the fate of the revolution itself."

Even a blind pacifist, working like a mole to undermine the defenses of your America and mine, ought to get that one even as he busies

if with his blind burrowings. But if not—and I want to take no chances on pacifist intelligence!—let me read a little further from Comrade Browder:

"It is a pleasure to make note of the fact, however, that if our party has neglected this work, the Young Workers League has not. It has made at least a beginning"—get this one men if you get nothing else that I have said today—"by sending picked members into the military training camps, compiling its experience and making it available for the movement generally."

I thank Browder for his frankness. He has stated here in black and white that picked men have been sent into our military training camps to be trained by the officers of the United States Army in order that they may apply that training to the drilling of Communist forces to attack the forces upon which America depends for its defense. And I say again that the pacifist aiding them in carrying out this plan.

Remember now the statement I have made—it is a matter of history and you are all familiar with it—about the Soldiers and Sailors Councils in Russia at the beginning of the last Russian revolution. I now show you a copy of a document which was sent out over the signature of Max Lerner of the executive board of the Young Workers League in March of 1925. It was brought to St. Paul, Minnesota, by a messenger for delivery to Leslie Hurt, one of the organizers of the World War Veterans—I am not referring to the American Legion here but to an organization made up of former servicemen of radical thought and tendency—and was at that time the district organizer in Minneapolis for the Young Workers League. The purpose of getting this matter into St. Paul was that along the river, just at the edge of the St. Paul city limits, is Fort Snelling, one of the United States Army posts.

The document that I hold in my hand is a copy of the official instructions for agitation among the enlisted men in that army post. I have a copy rather than an original because I have learned by experience that sometimes as I travel about there are a number of people who become vitally interested in the contents of my suitcase when I am not with the suitcase. Therefore I put certain original documents in various and safety deposit boxes where they are safe from the fingers of the man who originally wrote them. In this document I find that in division A, under proposition 1, which is

titled "Political Demands," is the "right to join trade unions *the right to form and join soldier and airmen's unions.*" Strike out that last word "unions" and substitute for it "councils" and you have the start of the identical organization that was used to put over the revolution in Russia. Keep in mind, too, that I am not charging anything here but am simply reading what these men said.

Proposition B under this same subdivision 1 demands the right "to elect regimental, battalion and company commanders to represent soldiers' and airmen's grievances on questions of legal rights, punishment, leave, working hours and barrack accommodations." Recall your history just a bit and you will remember that this is the identical tactic that wrought disorganization in the Russian army on the fighting front in the World War.

They carry this a little farther in subdivision B under proposition 2 which they entitled "Legal Rights" in which they ask for the abolition of courts martial and the substitution thereof of military courts "to be organized on the basis of an *elected* jury composed of three soldiers, one noncommissioned officer and one officer." If you want to get the import of this and just what it means in military discipline figure what this system would do to the discipline of your own plants and figure who would be running your plants if any such system prevailed for any length of time.

I shall not read in detail the other points in this document for I must pass to other things. I want to emphasize, however, that all through it occurs the insistence upon the right of soldiers enlisted in the forces of the United States to belong to the trades unions operating in the trades in which the men were employed before they enlisted. Hook this back to Browder's statement that I have quoted that soldiers were to be taught never to fire upon their brother workers; add to it the campaign launched on the 15th of February of the present year to permeate the labor unions of this country with Communist workers carefully camouflaged and you will begin to see what this is beginning to do not only to the army of America but to your own plants and perhaps you will see now who those men and women I mentioned in connection with the International Labor Defense are helping.

I have learned from past experience that usually when I make a talk on the menace of radic-

a report on what I have said manage to get back to the Communist headquarters. It does not concern me a particle and there be any of their camouflaged representatives who by any chance have worked into this meeting, I want to advise him that he can take notes fully and freely so far as I am concerned and that I will not interfere with him at all. If he wishes it I will even repeat so that he can get the quotations exact.

But I do wish him to take back the information that nothing he or his comrades can do to me can block this information for within six hours after I had it I filed it with the proper military authority of the United States. The Red plotters can put that in their pipes and smoke it.

Before I leave entirely the direct subject of the machinations being attempted with our military forces let me drive home the fact that only last week C. E. Ruthenberg wired to the President of Mexico to stand firm in the negotiation with United States Secretary of State Frank B. Kellogg and—I quote exactly now—that he had "support of important section of the American workers against Wall Street." Not content with that Ruthenberg wired Communist in Cuba, Chili, Argentine, Uruguay and Brazil to bend every effort to stir up the government of South America to declare "their solidarity with Calles in his firm stand against the American imperialists." That is treason and yet our pacifists and our uplifters and our humanitarian say that we must not arrest or prosecute these treasonable plotters but on the other hand we should labor earnestly with them in prayer.

One week ago last Sunday night, here in Chicago, in Imperial Hall, diagonally across the street from McCormick Theological Seminary there was a meeting held, attended by Schachtman and Minor and Lovestone and by Nathan Kaplan, the American representative of the Young Communist International, to welcome Walter Trumbull, just released from the military prison at Alcatraz because he and Pat Crouch endeavored to organize the "Hawaii Communist League." Both men were enlisted men of the Army. Crouch is still serving on the sentence imposed; Trumbull is lecturing under Communist auspices throughout America and he is billed to speak this very night in Canton, Ohio, and tomorrow night in Pittsburgh. The Communists announce that in his lecture

he will tell h the slogan of "Hawaii for Hawaiians and the World for Communism" was first raised in the United States Army. I have some interesting facts regarding Crouch and Trumbull and the Hawaiian Communist League. It just happens that, through certain sources that are open to me, I was able to give to certain governmental officials in this country a copy of the letter that Crouch and Trumbull wrote to the Third International and—mark you this—I got it into their hands before the Commandant at Schofield Barracks in Honolulu had reported on the incident to the War Department here. That Commandant had not been derelict at all; he was simply going ahead and doing his duty and ready to make the report when the facts were assembled and yet, through the source heretofore referred to, I had definite information that Moscow knew what was going on in the United States Army barracks in Honolulu before the official report in its completeness came in. Our humanitarians say that Trumbull and Crouch are being ground down by military despots, imprisoned for their views—that is what all those that I have mentioned as connected with the International Labor Defense say—and mistreated generally but if you want to get the line on exactly what they were doing consider what I shall now read from M. Pavlovitch's article on "The Coming War." Pavlovitch is a Russian and close to the tacticians in the Red army. Among the things that he says Communists must do are the following:

"Maintenance and extension of an illegal organization (italics mine) for the permanent work against war of all revolutionaries participating in the war. The Communists cannot prevent the outbreak of a war, but they must strive to change this war into a civil war, the world revolution."

Note they pointed out the necessity "for the permanent work against war!" All I ask of you is that when Jane Addams or Frederick Libby or Rosika Schwimmer or any other speaker, whatever his or her connections may be, urges you to insist upon disarmament at all cost and to engage in "the permanent work against war"—remember Pavlovitch and the point that Pavlovitch is striving to reach.

The humanitarian and the International Labor Defense and the uplifters say that at worst Crouch and Trumbull are misguided and of course that they are getting nowhere—but let us see what some Communists say about it.

Sherty, to whom I have referred, comment on this very case says:

"Yes, Communism is dangerous anywhere, but supremely so in the army. The army is the first line of defense of the predatory ruling class who own and control this country."

He is talking about you.

Let me now turn to J. Louis Engdahl, high in Communist circles and one of the editors of the Daily Worker, and see what he says when he comments on this very case and the military importance of Hawaii. I now read from Engdahl:

"It is not only a Heligoland looking toward the Philippines and sitting astride the road to the East Indies; it is not only on the highway to China and a lookout towards Japan; but it also eyes Vladivostok where flies the red flag of the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics on the Pacific."

Then a little later, his exultance over what Crouch and Trumbull did bursting through all the bounds of caution, he exclaims:

"The Bolshevik germ already penetrates half way across the earth's broadest ocean."

One thing more to clinch this argument. At the meeting for Trumbull in Chicago on Sunday night, March 7, Robert Minor introduced him. This is the same Robert Minor that was caught, as I have pointed out, circulating Bolshevik literature among the American troops in the Army of Occupation, and this Robert Minor, still busy at his nefarious work, in facetious mood closes his introduction of Trumbull with the words:

"I greet you Comrade Trumbull and I know you will be Commandant Trumbull, Red chief of the American Soviet Republics army and navy."

Poor bewildered Trumbull, caught by suave phrases and impossible promises! Not for you Trumbull, any such place of position or power. They are using you in the hope that you can create such a place for one of their own inner circle. You are only playing the game, a little more bravely and a little more openly and courageously than the pacifists, but there is no high place for you, Trumbull, in the final scheme of things. But Minor knows what he is doing. When he saluted you, half facetiously and half cynically, the eyes of Robert Minor looked far beyond you and did see the outlines of a form of a Red chief of a Soviet army in America, the Red chief in whose behalf Minor was plotting.

back there with the American Expeditionary forces, the Red chief in whose behalf Minor has been plotting ever since. Minor, moving behind the scenes, is the man to watch, not help- less, curly-headed Trumbull, moved like a pawn on the giant international checker board.

How all this squares, too, with that program for disarmament and demoralization abroad while the Red army and navy and air fleet is built up and strengthened and while every effort is made, as the adopted resolutions point out, to build up and strengthen Soviet Russia internally. Not content with their efforts to make trouble within the ranks of our military forces as they are now constituted, aided and abetted by the pacifists they carry the attack out into every line of work and into our schools and colleges. On every hand we hear the cry against everything that savors of a policy of national defense. Within the present year Anna Louise Strong, coming to this country from Moscow where she had been working with the Communist chiefs and due again at the Hotel Continental, Moscow, on March 24, declared "that Communists have been permitting the pacifists to pave the way for their propaganda by agitating against military training and that Communists now have their orders to co-operate with the pacifists more closely." That is a recognized agent of the Communists that I am quoting and she knows what the pacifists are doing even if the pacifists themselves know not.

I hold in my hand a copy of a pamphlet issued by Winthrop D. Lane entitled "Military Training in Schools and Colleges of the United States." Organizations such as the Fellowship of Reconciliation and the Fellowship of Youth for Peace co-operated in gathering the information for this pamphlet and are working now in distributing it. Heading the list of signers endorsing it is Jane Addams of Chicago. Signing with her is Senator William E. Borah of Idaho. In the list, too, I find Thomas Que Harrison, Stanley High—mark those two names for they are worth remembering—Hannah Clothier Hull, James H. Maurer, radical head of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor, Kirby Page and many others whose affiliations with subversive organizations are well known. Some on this list of signers perhaps are misled, are dupes of these other signers but the leaders in this movement know what they are doing. Let me run it back for you just briefly and particularly a phase or two of it that is going to get right

don't do your own business if you do not guard against it.

When the maneuverings and the subversive work of the old Intercollegiate Socialist Society began to be so widely known that its activities were being checked by patriots, its leaders followed an old dictum of Lenin on tactics and simply changed the name. It is now known as the League for Industrial Democracy and its field worker and chief organizer is Paul Blanshard. If he has not been in your home city thus far he will be and I know just exactly the doctrine that he will preach.

Back in November, 1921, the League for Industrial Democracy issued a pamphlet on the cover of which appeared the slogan, "Education for a New Social Order Based on Production for Public Use and Not For Private Profit." Sounds like some intellectual dissertation on something purely academic, doesn't it? But check your own minds for a moment or two and recall how often recently you have heard that phrase "production for use." It is heard in labor union circles; it sounds in college forums; professors babble about it and Communists chant it when they are before groups where camouflage serves their purpose better than open declarations. If you will stop and analyze it you will see that, after all, it is only a highbrow sort of way of saying Communism. It is not necessary, however, to depend upon your own analysis for on page 6 of this pamphlet occurs these sentences:

"Production for use is a seemly phrase, so sound that sections of the church have accepted it, so far reaching that it will bring down the walls of Jericho. It is gentle and deadly. It says that the present order is ethically indefensible and economically unsound."

While that quotation is fresh in your minds I show you a page from the program of services of the Hyde Park Presbyterian Church for Sunday, January 24, 1926. Upon it is printed a portion of the report of the Committee on Findings of the so-called Student Conference recently held at Evanston, Illinois, and in that report I find, as stated on this program of the Hyde Park Presbyterian Church, Ralph Marshall Davis, Minister, the following:

"We believe that the modern industrial system, as now organized on a competitive basis and production for profit rather than for use is the prolific source of the major evils such as war, class distinctions, and economic inequality."

There you have all in one sentence, production for use, disarmament and disarmament in America.

I am not charging that Dr. Davis nor the officials of the Hyde Park Presbyterian Church are parties to this movement. When the first section of this report was printed on the program of the Hyde Park Presbyterian Church it was distinctly stated, in small type, that it was printed because it was believed that the matter was worthy of thought. If one studies the English language he will see that the Hyde Park Presbyterian Church does not endorse this program. He will also see that it does not oppose it, but submits it as a matter worthy of thought. I wonder how many of the probable thousands who have read it stop to consider the phraseology. I am reasonably certain that the vast majority would accept it as sound and hold that its appearance on the church program meant that the church approved. I repeat again, because I want it wholly clear, that I am not charging that Dr. Davis or whoever was responsible for printing this program, was actuated by any motive save a high one and a desire to accomplish something for human welfare. I believe that is true, but if some friend of mine, actuated by a desire to sweeten my coffee that it might be more palatable to me, should get arsenic into it by mistake for sugar, his high motives would not be of much benefit to me as I jogged my slow way to the cemetery.

Let us now very briefly, because it is illuminative as to the methods of the enemies of America, trace the trail through its devious ways that show how "production for use" got from that old pamphlet of the League for Industrial Democracy in November, 1921, to the program of the Hyde Park Presbyterian Church in January, 1926.

Let us start again with that pamphlet of 1921 and on page 10 of it we find instructions to the effect that organization must push this idea over and then—I am now quoting exactly from the pamphlet:

"Twelve apostles are needed when the idea begins to grip. One on the idea, forming groups. One on research, to keep feeding the idea with facts. One for women. One for students. One for ministers, churches and the religious community. One to give beef, iron and port to tired radicals. One teacher for teachers. One for the social worker. One to insert the idea and direction of goal into liberals and liberal weeklies. One social engineer; one farmer; one labor leader."

It is beginning to be evident that that hostile to the ministers has been on the South side, in the five years that have elapsed since these instructions were issued.

He worked in close conjunction with the hostile to the students and I will show you where that trail leads. Early in 1924 there was held in Indianapolis what was known as the Student Volunteer Convention which busied itself on a number of things. Paul Blanshard, organizer for the League for Industrial Democracy, was present and his report on its deliberations was ultimately published. A number of organizations grew out of it and a number of these organizations were active in guiding some of these organizations. One of the guiding organizations was the so-called Fellowship of Reconciliation which has marked and clear radical connections. The Fellowship of Reconciliation has a direct connection with the European organization known as the War Resisters International. There is not time to discuss it but its American branch was formed under the joint auspices of the Fellowship of Reconciliation and the Women's Peace Society. I think you will know enough for all practical purposes about this war resisters organization when I tell you that the pledge required for enrollment in the War Resisters League is as follows:

"I declare it to be my intention never to take part in war, offensive or defensive, international or civil, whether it be by bearing arms, making or handling munitions, voluntarily subscribing to war loans or using my labor for the purpose of setting others free for war service."

In February, 1925, the Federal Council of Churches announced a conference conducted jointly by the Fellowship of Reconciliation, the Fellowship of Youth for Peace and the Fellowship for Christian Social Order. Announcement was also made of a later Fellowship for Christian Social Order led by Kirby Page, author of the "Pacifist Pledge," Jane Addams, and Father John A. Ryan of Washington, D. C. Did you ever stop to consider how many things Miss Addams is interested in other than Hull House!

This Fellowship of Youth for Peace was practically sponsored by the Fellowship of Reconciliation. Rev. Harry F. Ward, who works for the Methodist Church when he is not working for the American Civil Liberties Union, said in the bulletin of the Methodist Federation for

Social Service on June 1, 1924, that "the Fellowship of Youth for Peace consciously relates itself to the old world movement." To use the expressive slang phrase, "I'll say it does."

Workers in the interest of America caught the trail of the Fellowship of Reconciliation and in September, 1925, the Fellowship of Reconciliation adopted the following report:

"There should be no organic connection between the Fellowship of Reconciliation and the Fellowship of Youth for Peace, such as would be indicated by printing both names on official statements, letter-heads, etc., and that, in a word, it should be made clear to the members and the public that they are quite distinct as organizations."

I wonder if some of the ministers in the Fellowship of Reconciliation have had occasion to read recently a somewhat ancient document, one paragraph of which begins, "Thou shalt not bear false witness."

After they had solemnly resolved that the public should be given to understand that the two organizations were quite distinct as organizations they added to the resolution:

"That there should be the fullest harmony and co-operation between the Fellowship of Reconciliation and the Fellowship of Youth for Peace so far as their purpose and methods coincide, particularly in general undertakings and close activities."

I respectfully submit the above as a matter of accurate record and as an example of the ability of the human mind, when properly trained of course, to draw distinctions without a difference.

The men leading in the work of the Fellowship of Youth for Peace, so far as active work in the field is concerned, are Stanley High and Thomas Que Harrison, both of whom join Jane Addams, et al, in signing the Winthrop D. Lane pamphlet on military training as I have shown you.

At the Evanston Conference held early this year Stanley High dominated and Thomas Que Harrison who was present to speak for the Fellowship of Youth for Peace was allowed twenty minutes in which to speak on the proposition "Ye Cannot Serve God and Mammon." I am not making these statements about the conference on my own authority, I am making them on the authority of Professor Robert Morss Lovett of the University of Chicago and a member of the National Executive Committee of the American Civil Liberties Union. He made them in an article that he wrote for The New Repub-

lic which appeared in its issue of January 20, 1926.

There was a somewhat earlier report on this Evanston Conference that I might have quoted had I desired. It appeared in the January 9 issue of The American Appeal, the official organ of the Socialist Party and edited by Eugene V. Debs. Debs refers to the conference as adopting the Socialist position in the present industrial system and condemnation of war and repudiation of the present capitalistic system.

Time is passing and I shall not burden you with my opinion about this conference and who controls it. I have given you the opinion concerning it of the Pastor of the Hyde Park Presbyterian Church, of Professor Robert Morss Lovett, of Rev. Harry F. Ward and of Eugene V. Debs. If one wishes further information he may be able to secure it from Thomas Que Harrison who, on February 26, 1926, spoke at Harper Assembly Hall, University of Chicago, on his so-called peace work and stated clearly that the object was to encourage conscientious objectors, to rewrite text books along lines of pacifism and to bring the church to their point of view. I submit all this as just partial evidence of how busy that apostle to the ministers has been since the League for Industrial Democracy started him off in 1921 and what splendid cooperation he has been given by his brother apostle to the students and colleges. As for the Communists, whom I have not forgotten, I understand that as these apostles go forth and as the evidence of the work of these apostles accumulates the Red brethren begin to hum softly that old popular ditty that goes "Every little bit added to what you've got makes just a little bit more."

Do not flatter yourselves that the business world is immune from this propaganda. Let us make a long jump now from the Hyde Park Presbyterian Church and the Fellowship of Youth for Peace and the Evanston Conference, over to Moscow, Russia, and to the sessions of the Soviet Russia Supreme Council of National Economy, the foreign department of which is headed by M. Gurievich. I hold in my hands a copy of one of his pronouncements an official copy of which got into my hands early in October, 1925. M. Gurievich holds forth at considerable length on how the Communist program calls for the purchase of supplies in this country and how that purchase must be utilized to bring

pressure to bear on the cupidity and the profit desire of American manufacturers in order to get their influence back of the move for political recognition by the United States government.

This document deals with a list of the things he proposes to buy and the approximate number of each. I shall not take your time to give them in detail but will say that they cover tractors, supplies necessary for oil development, metallurgical machinery, equipment for the mining and manufacturing of copper, bronze and zinc, electrical equipment, gold mining machinery and equipment incident to the rubber industries. His order claims that they propose to spend \$160,000,000 within one year in America to be followed by expenditures that will aggregate \$2,000,000,000 in the ensuing five or six years. Then comes the joker for he says—again I quote exactly, "We cannot place orders without credit which America refuses to give."

Now let us look at some of the ways in which this economic scheme operates. The first incident that I shall use began before the Gurievich statement was issued or in any event before it got into my possession. It concerned the shipment of 243,698 bales of cotton, valued at \$36,340,000. The financing of this shipment, scheduled to end on February 15, last, was handled by the Chase National Bank of New York City, which has recently consolidated with the Mechanics & Metals National Bank and has become thereby the second largest banking institution in America. Its Vice President, Reeve Schley, visited Moscow last summer and among those assigned by the Soviet authorities to show him around and to see to it that he saw just exactly what they wanted him to see and nothing else, was one Alex Gumberg, who in the early days of the revolution, was the official interpreter and go-between between Col. Raymond Robins of Chicago, who was in Russia for the American Red Cross, and certain of the Soviet heads. My authority for the statement regarding the activities of Robins at that time is an individual now in this country that Col. Robins threatened to sue unless he retracted the statements he had made. His answer was to continue to send out the statements and we are still waiting for the lawsuit. I take it therefore that I make the statement in comparative security for if Col. Robins sees fit to sue me I shall fall back upon my authority and then wait

for the original lawsuit to come on so that some of us can put into evidence under oath certain documents that we possess.

The deal in connection with this cotton transaction was made with the All-Russian Textile Syndicate, Inc. That is a New York corporation with a capital of \$1,000,000 fully paid up in cash. Its president is Fritz F. Kilovitz whose domicile is New Orleans and who also happens, just happens, you know, to be president of the All-Union Textile Syndicate of Moscow. When the city of New Orleans—and if there are any New Orleans men here I want to say that the actual handling of this money in New Orleans is reported to have been through the Hibernia Bank of New Orleans of which Rudolph Hecht is Chairman of the Board—invited Kilovitz to exhibit at its industrial exposition last fall he replied that the invitation to exhibit must go not to him but to the Soviet heads in Moscow. Louis F. Engdahl thereupon declared in the Daily Worker:

"Kellogg says we cannot have a Red ambassador in Washington. We have one in New Orleans, the capital city of cotton."

Let us shift back for a moment now to Chicago and the West and let us look at a meeting held on December 2, 1925, in St. Huberts Inn under the auspices of the American Rambouille Breeders Association. Three representatives of Soviet agencies were the guests of honor. The occasion was the celebration of the consummation of a business deal by which a certain number of high bred rams and ewes were sold for breeding purposes to Russia at a reported price of \$250,000. In my records I put that price down in one column as the record of the value of a certain number of high bred rams and ewes. Before that dinner was over the Association adopted a resolution calling for the recognition of Soviet Russia. Thereupon I put that \$250,000 in another column. This time I entered as the list price of the patriotism of certain sheep breeders. They knew that this government of yours and mine stood uncompromisingly against recognition of Soviet Russia but in order to subject more of their sheep to Communistic conditions and to receive a price therefor they went on record as against the announced policy of the United States of America. They did it too in the presence of D. A. Spencer, a representative of the United States Department of Agriculture who, so far as the record shows, sat silent. While the diners were assembled discussing rar

and ewes, birth ts and pottage, a telegram was received from United States Senator Borah stating that "in the interests of peace, disarmament, trade and commerce we should recognize Soviet Russia and contract with her as soon as possible and along the proper lines a treaty of commerce in the interests of peace and markets."

Came also a wire from Burton Wheeler, United States Senator from Montana, who said "I can see no legitimate reason why we should not recognize Russia, whether we like their form of government or not."

I would never expect Senator Wheeler to see it; they raise too many sheep in Montana and I know his record. I have merely added his telegram to the rest of it.

Make no mistake about my meaning. I have no objection when the American business man deals in a business way with the powers that be in Soviet Russia. If he sends his machinery, his tractors, his sheep or whatever it may be across to them and receives in return a specified number of gold rubles, or gambles if need be on his ability to collect, he is not subject to criticism. I wish him luck because the more gold rubles that he extracts from Russia the less gold rubles Russia has to spend for carrying out the nefarious purpose of the leaders of the Comintern. But if in order to get more gold rubles or in the hope of enforcing collection on credit he may have extended, he uses his influence at home to bring pressure to bear on American officials for recognition of Soviet Russia, when the policy of this government is unequivocally against such a course I do criticize him. What is more I resent it and I shall fight him on that proposition and so long as my body and my voice hold out I will blazon to the best of my ability what he is doing. He may sell his own birthright if he chooses but he cannot sell mine without a fight and I do not give one little whit who is hit by that statement.

If time permitted I would move from this discussion of rams and ewes to the general agricultural situation and tell you what is going on in the Northwest today. I would tell you of Alfred Knutson, sent to Russia last summer for special training under Bukharin whose thesis on the agrarian situation in the Northwest is well worthy of studying. I would tell you of Knutson's return, of his tours into Iowa and Nebraska and Kansas and of his work with J.

E. S. ... and Dave Coutts. I would tell you of his establishment at Bismarck, North Dakota, of a headquarters for the United Farmers Educational League, but time does not permit.

If perchance any think that he is another one of those who is not getting anywhere let me call attention to the report of the National Industrial Conference Board issued last week, which calls attention to the great spread of radical ideas among farmers of the Northwest and labels it "one of the most significant reversals in the political life of the United States." That is not a Communist report, padded perchance for publicity purposes, but it is the report of Magnus Alexander's National Industrial Conference Board, a recognized authority. Knutson contributes, as corroborative evidence, The United Farmer, official organ of the United Farmers Educational League, of which I show you Vol. I, No. 1, issued at Bismarck under date of March 1, 1926, and starting, according to Communist figures, with 32,116 paid subscribers.

I would like to tell you, if time permitted, of the work that has been done on orders from Moscow by which the whole organization of the Workers (Communist) Party is shifted from the geographical basis, along which all other political parties are organized, to the basis of the shop and street nuclei. Briefly stated this means that every Communist is registered at Communist headquarters not only according to his residence but according to his trade and what is more according to the shop or store in which he works and the machine at which he works. The primary object and the one openly stated by the Communist leaders is to make possible the carrying on of propaganda work among other men in the shops. There is a concealed purpose, however, for use in emergency. If their plotting succeeds and if war and revolution comes they are in position through this complete registration to strike at the vital points and cripple the service of supply back of the armies. If time permitted I would elaborate this point and put into the record some data that is hidden away in certain safety vaults in the East dealing with what is known in the Communist code as the CMT which stands for Central Military Triumvirate.

Men will say, and say rightly, that such work as I have outlined—and keep in mind I have given you only the most meager outline—costs money. Of course it does and let me now give

you the official figures as the Communists themselves report them in this little book to which I referred earlier, The Fourth National Convention.

National Office, from Dec. 1, 1923, to Dec. 31, 1924 (page 52)	\$124,083.11
Literature Dept. receipts over same period (page 54)	17,857.91
Workers' Party from Jan. 1, 1925, to June 30, 1925 (page 59)	47,288.47
Daily Worker, published daily for 1924 (page 157)	118,637.70
Job Printing Dept., 1924, including job sales (page 158)	137,892.97
The Workers' Monthly for 1924 (page 158)	5,547.04
The Daily Worker from January 1, 1925 to June 27, 1925 (page 160)	38,821.24
The Workers' Monthly for the same period (page 160)	10,555.54
Job sales, same period (page 160)	93,843.48
Literature Sales, same period, (page 160)	6,536.63
Rented space sales, same period, (page 160)	1,600.00
Donation (page 160)	27,788.47
National Defense Committee, Jan. 1, 1924 to June 30, 1925 (page 66)	10,032.33
Gross total	\$640,484.89

They claim a deficit of \$6,500, and so that means that they have spent at least that much more than the figure quoted which brings us to a total of \$646,000. Add to that now the total of approximately \$33,000 that was raised during the fall of 1925 for the so-called Daily Worker Guaranty Fund and the total reaches \$679,000.

In other words here is almost \$700,000 accounted for and every penny of it has been spent in America for the tearing down of America. What have you done to offset it? I do not ask you to answer that question to me but answer it in your own hearts and then balance the books of your Americanism.

I have no criticism for this organization because it has been my fortune to know something of what you have accomplished through your splendid Commissioner. I say here and now—and I am perfectly willing to say it any place and if you wish it to go on record in writing to that effect—that in my fifteen years of contact with this problem I know of no single office of any private organization that has as accurate record of these subversive activities as has your Commissioner and not more than three who use the information as intelligently and effectively. You yourselves undoubtedly know

more about this work that he has done than I do but I do want at this time to pay my little meed of tribute because I know that it is due.

You men have lived according to the law of compensation. You preach in your shops and in your factories that according as a man puts forth effort intelligently and consistently and day after day he shall surely reap his reward. You know, because you have proven it in your own lives, that that law holds true. In the light of it therefore I ask you what must be the inevitable result if these kind of subversive activities go on forever unchecked. If only the man who is tearing down is working ultimately there must be only ruins and a desert.

You cannot meet this menace with a law. Your yellow politicians would not enact it if it would meet the problem for they lack the courage. They are listening for the clamor of those who have votes to deliver and fighting for principles is forgotten in a struggle to keep on the public payroll. This does not apply to all but to so many that it is useless to look in that direction for assistance.

Even if assistance were available there I would argue against it. You cannot put an idea in jail. If you put the sponsor of the idea in jail the idea will advance and gain speed and force because adherents of the man you jailed will put the martyr's crown upon him and that crown, though ill-deserved and wrongly labeled, will win him adherents. The only way to meet a destructive idea is with a constructive idea and as the forces of life and up-building are always greater than the forces of death and destruction you must win. But you cannot win if you lock the constructive idea in the secret recesses of your heart and mind and think of it only on the Fourth of July or on Memorial Day when the bands go by. If you have followed me you will note that every problem that is the basis of the propaganda of the Communists is fundamentally a problem of the production, the distribution and the consumption of wealth. The Communist answer is fitting governmental functions to the solution of those problems according to the Marxian Leninist idea. I said in the beginning that those problems were your problems, problems that you have lived with day in and day out and the best brains in America or in the world for the solving of these problems are the brains of the American business man. That is why I said in the beginning that the

call is clear and distinct for business statesmanship and that is why, with every force at my command I beg you to get it into action now.

There is a way open. The solution of this problem lies in your hands.

I am not here to advocate an appeal to political leaders. Their answer, if the problem ever gets squarely before them, will be to compromise in the hope of currying favor and garnering votes from both sides. Their remedy, judging from past performances, will be to set up one or more new-fangled bureaus which will merely pile up more taxes, put a few more political beneficiaries on the public payrolls, and add to the harassments of attempting to conduct legitimate business.

Neither am I going to advocate that you slam down your desks and go forth to become politicians. We have too many of them now. But I do feel that the time is at hand for you to demand—not ask, but *demand*—that these problems, which are primarily economic, be solved according to the established economic laws with which you are familiar and with which you have been dealing every day of your lives, and that they no longer be made mere political footballs to be kicked and juggled about as suits the plans of those who put votes first and principles afterwards.

It is high time, as I see it, that the American business man put his foot down on the species of political brigandage to which he is subjected every two years or every four years. It is time that he cease financing the politicians, for in the last analysis he does finance both old parties through contributing to the campaign funds that keep their personally selected candidates in office, and then be denied a voice in the solving of these problems that are primarily his problems and the proper solution of which means everything to the common weal.

Think back a few years and let the history that is so familiar to you prove the statement that I have just made. It was the effort to substitute bureaucratic theories for sound business common sense that crippled our efficiency when the swirling world currents sucked us into the maelstrom of the Great War. And mark you this: The thing from which we have been recovering here in America is *not* what enemy armies did to our army in Europe but what Federal bureaucrats and politicians did to our busi-

nesses at home. Look at that record. They almost wrecked the railroads. They made ships that could not get out of our own harbors. They produced airplane scandals but only a handful of planes. They operated foundries and machine shops but our armies fought with guns furnished by our Allies. They tried cost-plus production and the stench of what happened still lingers in the nostrils. The businesses on which their blighting hands fell were uniformly disorganized and that the disorganization was not greater was due solely to the valiant resistance of a few backed by the business brains and courage of American business. Eventually supplies did come forth, came forth in quantities that made American production and efficiency the marvel of the world, but that unparalleled achievement came only when trained business men, free from political hamperings, got into actual control and ran things not to prove theory but to get results. It was a costly education but if the lesson has been learned it will be worth all that it cost.

As I have said, there is a way open for solving this problem. All business, in this complicated world is inter-knit and in the last analysis the basic problem of every business is to find its relation to every other business and to the whole clientele that it serves.

I have tried to make clear what it is I am driving at in this chart that I have had prepared. (Showing chart.) Bear with me, if you will, just a little longer until I sketch it hurriedly.

The first problem in working out this interrelation of business was to find, to use the term of schoolboy days, the great common denominator. The great common denominator of our old mathematical problems was the denominator big enough to include all the fractions we were endeavoring to handle. If we consider each and every business in this world as a fraction of the world and of the world's welfare—and that is exactly what it is—then the great common denominator in the world is that business which touches all other businesses direct. It was in search of that, therefore, that I went forth and I found it.

It is the great fire insurance companies of the world that touch every business and every life and that touch them in countless ways. In the last analysis it is greater than the financial advances of the bankers because they will not loan on physical securities unless they are protected

by fire insurance. Finding that it touched every business I then went into its history and I found that it was actuated always by the ideal of service. And so it was that I learned that fire insurance was the great common denominator and that is why I placed it here at the center of this diagram, with its service running from that center to every nook and corner.

Note now this principal division of liquid or finance capital, opening in turn to the great banking institutions of our great cities financing industries generously and leading from them into American Bankers' Association which runs down to the banks in the smaller cities and towns and touches immediately the laboring man, the professional man, and the farmer.

Look now at the block that I have marked "Securities"; the insurance companies at the center are holding them by billions direct and protecting the physical properties that guarantee the loans upon them that the banking institutions make.

The step from securities over to the second great division of invested or industrial capital is uncomplicated and plain. I have indicated just a few of its divisions. Railroads; public utilities; packers; clay products; steel and steel products; rubber; oil, etc. It leads in turn to the Chamber of Commerce of the United States with its organizations running down to the semi-public bodies everywhere.

Business is no longer a proposition for a single country but is international and the bridge from that angle of the business that is purely national to that that is international is supplied by the marine departments of the fire insurance companies. The step is easy to the international field, and from the international field, through the patriotic organizations over to the formal public defence groups which include the citizens military training camps, the reserve officers and the regular army.

From the War Department to the Department of State is an obvious step and from the Department of State into all other Departments of this splendid government of ours and thence to the State and Municipal governments. Through their contacts we reach again the building groups and hence pass into the civic organizations such as the Rotary, the Kiwanis, the Lions, the teaching groups, the churches, the fraternal societies and labor which is vitally interested in the project of home building and gets

us back in turn to the building and loan associations that are so closely a related part of liquid capital.

That completes the circle and you will note that it is possible upon any desired occasion to enter the circle from any unit near the rim or from the center and, once entered, to move into any division without returning either to the rim or to the hub.

I have entered around the rim the names of a number of States just as they happened to come to me. If you will conceive of this whole organization as a great wheel turning on a central hub you will note that it is extremely mobile and that the whole force of the organization can be brought to bear at any given point at any given time.

To put it into operation, keep in mind, add not even a single penny to your business overhead. It is simply utilizing what you already have and what you have always had but which you have allowed to go to waste and as it wastes the Communist picks it up and capitalizes it against you. I do not ask you to put another organization into the field; if anything, there are too many now. I suggest only that you put into this work and through some such scheme as this the constructive genius that you put back of your own business and that will make America safe.

America is bigger than any business or any combination of businesses within America. I you think in terms of your business only you will be no bigger than your business for "A man thinketh in his heart so is he." Thin in terms of America and you will grow inevitably into a bigger and better man and as you build your country you will build your business.

That is what I mean by business statesmanship. Years ago, H. G. Wells, the British Socialist writer, wrote an essay that is worth studying. He was writing of the elder Pierpont Morgan and of the late Mr. Morgan's work in collecting paintings and his great library and Wells, the Socialist, looking at Morgan, the financier, said:

"I can understand that satisfying a rich gentleman of leisure but not a man who has felt the sensation of holding great big things in his great big hands. Saul going out to seek his father's asses found a kingdom and became very spiritedly king."

and it seems to me that these big industrial and financial organizers whatever in their youth they proposed to do or be, must many of them come to realize that their organizing power is up against no less a thing than a nation's future."

Wells, the Socialist, wrote truly. You have held great big things in your hands and as I said in the beginning the destiny of America is in the hands of business men. It was the American business man who created modern commerce between men and nations. It is the business man who provides prices, profits and that prosperity which is the fruit of both. Labor boasts of its 40,000,000 adherents but the wages wherewith to pay them are available because the genius of the American business man marshalled the forces necessary to make it possible. It is the business man and his genius for organization that takes the products of the world, agricultural or manufactured, from the place where they grow or are made to the place where they are needed. The common weal is in his hands.

War came and shattered the stored-up resources and capital of the old world. Even when the war was on and when its result hung in the balance it was the American business men such as Atterbury of the Pennsylvania and Dawes of Chicago who went in back of the fighting units and organized the transportation for the service of supplies so that the great armies could be sustained. When peace came and when the politicians and the so-called statesmen of Europe failed utterly in their efforts to patch up their ruins, it was the American business man and the American financier who devised the way out and it was Dawes, the American, who went over there and put it into working order that all the world might live and thrive again after the war just as it was Hoover, American business man, that all the world trusted during the war and whose genius organized the productive forces and fed the world. This is your country. You built it—not the politician: you sent the railroads spanning the great distances from the Atlantic to the Pacific; you take the products of the farmer and get it to those who need it in countries of which, perhaps, the farmer has never heard. You convert wool into clothing; you make autos and telephones and radios available to the humblest; you have conquered distance and time and space; you pay to the wage earner the highest wage in the history of the world and you store up in addition enough capital to finance the governments of Europe until their business men can once again get their feet

under them. This is your country and mine and when the Communist charges that it is you who seek to tread down the millions and to wreck this country, I hurl the lie back at him and tell him that it is you who build and construct and move forward. Sound business policies made America the most prosperous country on earth. The Communist policies made Russia a hissing and a by-word.

The capability is here. The power is here. And over and above all the vision is here with the American business man. I want to see this move because I believe it means something to America and to the world. It seems to me that there is coming today with especial appeal to the American business man, clear across the centuries that stirring call of the Prophet Isaiah:

"Go through, go through the gates; prepare ye the way of the people; cast up, cast up the highway; gather out the stones, lift up a standard for the people."

It is an inspiring call. The answer is with you. Eastern born and educated as I am I want to see it start here in the West because I have faith and confidence in the Western vision. True it is that this nation of ours began along the Eastern seaboard but, like civilization itself, it has moved steadily Westward until a continent has grown from thirteen colonies. Dreams and hopes, since that fairest dream of all was given to the world in the Far East, are born of the East and of the slowly rising sun. But fulfillment lies with the West and the Western hardihood and the Western fighting courage. It is to the West and to the things that the West stands for to which men turn.

"Into the waiting West they come,
With the dream-child of the East.
And they find their hopes, the hopes of old.
A thousand fold increased;
For there in the East we dream the dreams
Of the things that we hope to do.
But here in the West, the Golden West,
The dreams of the East come true."

Chicago, Illinois, March 18, 1926.

HARRY CURRAN WILBUR.

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MR. P. B. BELDEN

Gen. Mgr., The Belden Brick Co., Canton, Ohio

MR. R. P. HERROLD

Sec., The Mosaic Tile Co., Zanesville, O.

Suite 1007, 133 West Washington Street
Chicago, Ill.

APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP

in

THE NATIONAL CLAY PRODUCTS INDUSTRIES ASSOCIATION

We, the undersigned, do hereby apply for membership in the National Clay Products Industries Association, and do hereby covenant and agree to and with each and every member of said Association, to be governed by and obey its Constitution and all proper Rules and By-Laws in legal conformity therewith.

It is agreed that this application shall not become operative until it shall have been accepted and approved by the Board of Governors, and until our first assessment shall have been paid.

Applicant's firm name

Address

By

Official signature of responsible officer

\$50.00 Fee — Payable When Notified.

NATIONAL () PRODUCTS INDUST , ASSOC

HAMBER OF COMMERCE BUILD

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

TELEPHONE DEARBORN 1946



GENERAL COUNCIL, QUOD, (HILSON, ROSS & WELCH)
LEAGUE FOR INDUSTRIAL RIGHTS
NATIONAL INDUSTRIAL CONFERENCE BOARD

May
Thirteenth
1 9 2 6

VERY IMPORTANT

To Members and Friends:

I want your sympathetic consideration for a few minutes.

It is a disputed point whether the famous Procrustes had two beds or one, which he made men fit by stretching or lopping. Regardless, his reputation to this day, remains impaired for inhumanity and a standard for brutality.

In my opinion there is room for only one bed in this country and that, the bed-rock of loyalty to the present system of society, so much mislabeled by the word "capitalistic", even though there are some inequalities in this system, admitted by all of us.

Which dreamer, theorist or impractical schemer is going to give us things better than we have them, except through the very slow process of educating more of the masses so that they will fit into the big picture, with a more harmonious coloring and to their greater credit than they now deserve in many spots, because of not doing their own thinking.

The irrespressible optimist in this day and time is, in my estimation, about as dangerous as the irrational pessimist. On the one hand the first is reactionary and the second is radical. The saner folks and those that keep us balanced now, are the middle-of-the-road kind. I want no reputation of being the "big boy" with a motto in his office of "keep smiling", indicative of the irrespressible optimist and for this particular reason I am addressing myself to you today.

If I have appealed to your curiosity up to this point, then read further, for I want to gain your whole-hearted support on a matter that should lie close to the heart of every employer who has given any study at all to the "signs of the times".

I analyze much of our present unrest with the rank and file of workers, as attributable to the vast amount of propaganda that has been disseminated in various and devious ways throughout the country, with the underlying objective of bringing about a change in our form of government and institutions and I am willing to wager my time against that of any man, that I can prove my analysis is sound and logical and such proof will be produced in documentary form.

Now then, Secretary of State Hughes, speaking for the government back in December, 1924, knew what he was talking about when he made public a program laid down by Gregory Zinoviev, then president of the Communist Internationale and now still holding that same office. Let us read Zinoviev's declaration:

"All the activity of the Party must at the present time be directed among the workers of the large industries such as the railroad workers, miners, weavers, steel workers and others engaged in the principal industries of the United

States. Among these workers there must be organized units of 10. The heads of these units must meet once a week together with their 10's, to study the Communist program and their revolutionary literature. The head of each unit must know intimately each individual member of his 10, his character, habits, degree of his revolutionism, and report everything direct to the Central Committee of the Party. Each of these units of 10 must have their own fighting unit of not less than 3 men. The members of the fighting unit in addition to all other matters must once a week be given instructions in shooting and receive instructions in sapper work. We are firmly convinced that work in this direction designated by us will give enormous results in the sense of preparing thousands of new propagandists and future leaders of the military forces of the Party and faithful fighters during the social revolution. With reference to the organization by the Workers Party of America of the Federated Labor Party, the Communist Internationale expresses its complete satisfaction and its approval to the Central Committee of the Party for its boldness and tact in putting this idea into effect. We hope the Party will, step by step, embrace the proletarian forces of America and in the not distant future raise the Red Flag over the White House."

I maintain that there are maneuvers pressing to the front, indicative of the fact that the above program, changed in part perhaps, is still alive and slowly being put into execution.

Business men are doing what, to offset this? -- nothing, except through such organizations as they maintain cooperatively, consequently I contend that here is a legitimate field in which to exercise the energies of our Organization.

The crux -- how many pamphlets, one each for every individual in your organization that can read English, at perhaps fifteen or sixteen cents apiece, will you take, if I have an authority on the program of the "Reds", in their revolutionary strike strategy for America, write the pamphlet from authenticated documents, the pamphlet to be about 3500 or 4000 words and which should be distributed to workers generally, labor union officials, employers and the public and all of these would benefit by becoming aware of this insidious program, the objective of which, as already explained, is to overthrow the present system and to replace it with the Communal form of government, akin to that existing in Russia today.

Please do not feel that the interests of our many members are being sacrificed for one minute, in matters that concern their welfare individually, because of our activity in counteracting the subversive movements.

Here is a proposition that someone just simply has got to start and glory be to the institution or manufacturers' association that will start this "ball rolling" -- they will get plenty of credit if that is what they are hankering for and many others will follow.

I hope that I am going to get pledges for 20,000 copies as the result of this appeal and if I don't, I am going to be very much disappointed.

My good friend, [REDACTED] of "National Republic", writes me, under date of May 6th, as follows:

"What the business men and all men interested in the future of the country should be doing is to finance, along with their party support, educational activities outside the party field which will put public sentiment right. When that is right, the parties will be right. It is easier

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to raise a thousand dollars to promote destructive radicalism than a dollar to defend the nation from the attacks of subversive forces. This is the thing of deepest significance."

Let's not "let [redacted] do it" on this occasion, for [redacted] has a habit of "passing the buck" and let your tentative orders come in to me and if this thing goes over, as it ought to, I am inclined to the belief that you will have reason to congratulate yourself on lending a hand.

b7C

Very truly yours,

H. A. Jung
COMMISSIONER
H. A. Jung

HAI/AS

P.S. If you want to spend \$25.00 or \$50.00 for a patriotic cause, then don't limit yourself to an order for just your employes, but for distribution amongst your associates and acquaintances, on the basis of additional numbers of these pamphlets that \$25.00 or \$50.00 will buy.

.....Detach and Return.....

National Clay Products Industries Assn.,
1007 - 133 W. Washington St.,
Chicago, Ill.

Gentlemen:

You may send us, when published _____ copies of your contemplated pamphlet on the "Reds'" strike program for America. We will either have these distributed to our employes and circularized amongst our friends, or will send you a list for mailing from your end and will agree to pay the additional necessary postage. We agree to remit for the pamphlet on the basis of actual cost of same.



COMPANY NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY AND STATE _____

(Signature)

ENCLOSURE

62-12099-✓

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DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
WASHINGTON, D. C.

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MEETING OF WORKERS (COMMUNIST) PARTY
HELD AT THE FREIHEIT SING-
SOCIETY HALL, 3837 W. ROOSEVELT RD.,
CHICAGO, ILL. - C. E. RUTHENBERG -
SPEAKER IN COMMEMORATION OF THE
7TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE PARTY -
(NCPA - SEPTEMBER 4TH, 1923)

1-6021 (2)

The Freiheit Singing Society Hall is a small hall with accommodations for seating comfortably about 125 to 150 people. The attendance was about 175 of whom approximately 75 were women. In the audience there were Harrison George, [redacted] and [redacted]. The evening was one of great discomfort, owing to extreme humidity and the audience kept milling around like a herd of cattle, constantly creating a disturbance, making it extremely difficult to follow the discourse.

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The meeting was called to order by a Slav, speaking English very brokenly, but well dressed and vehement. He first read several notices of future meetings and picnics, foremost among which was the International Labor Defense meeting to be held Labor Day night, at the Ashland Boulevard Auditorium. Following the notices, the chairman introduced C.E. Ruthenberg with the statement, "Comrades, you all know Mr. Ruthenberg as the leader of the Communist Party who has been the general secretary for the past seven years and needs no further introduction. Mr. Ruthenberg may now have the floor."

At 8:45, C.E. Ruthenberg took the floor and started his address with, "Comrades and friends, you all know that we are here tonight to celebrate the anniversary of the Workers (Communist) Party of America in its seventh year and that in that period of time we have emerged victorious from one of the most difficult struggles that a Party has ever gone through and I can now say that we are well on our way after these struggles to lead the proletariat revolutionaries of the United States to a successful overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of a government of Social Soviet Unions in this country."

Ruthenberg then went on to state that his subject this evening was a review of the history of the Party since its inception in this country, having its beginning within the Socialist Party of America.

The first development of a radical Left Wing movement took place in the convention of the Socialist Party in May, 1912. Here the Left Wing attempted to capture control of the convention, but was defeated by a vote of 200 to 90. However, these 90 votes represented about one-third of the Party.

Following this convention, came the pre-war period with constantly changing conditions and excitement at fever height. In Europe the war was already under way and in America there was talk of the government drafting an army. The Left Wing began to spread propaganda against conscription and urged the workers to resist, with force, any attempts made to force them to aid the capitalistic class.

Then came the St. Louis convention of the Socialist Party. Here the Left Wing was victorious and obtained control of the convention. Morris Hillquit, Algernon Lee and C.E. Ruthenberg were appointed as the committee to "draft" a program of the Party. Ruthenberg stated here that the audience could readily see what he was up against, for while Lee and Hillquit were radical in their beliefs, they were hesitant about advocating the use of force and revolution to gain their ends. They eventually quit. Then Ruthenberg ostensibly "wrote" the program, but this was in reality done by Bukharin and Trotsky, both of whom were in America at the time. This policy openly called for militancy and the use of force in agitating a revolution for the overthrow of the capitalist regime and the establishment of a Social Soviet government. He said that one serious mistake was made here, and that was in permitting the Socialist executive board to remain in power when they should have been thrown out altogether. A split then developed which consisted of the "Right Wingers", the language section composed of the Slavic societies and organizations and the radical Left Wing. The Left Wing was advocating secession. The language section was with the Left in policy but did not want to bolt the Party at once, hoping they could swing more of the "Right Wingers" over to the Left, while the conservatives were against any use of force or attempts at revolution.

At the convention held in 1919, the Socialist Right Wing, anticipating the strong Left Wing movement, had a referendum vote taken in March before the conven-

and elected the executive committee. On August 31st, 1919, the Communist Left Wing succeeded with 15,000 members. The language section which was going to stay a while longer, succeeded on September 1st, 1919, with 40,000 members. This was the beginning of the Workers' Party. The chief difference between the language section and the Left Wing was that the language section advocated "action of the masses", but the Left Wing advocated "mass action".

By this time the government was bending every effort to suppress the Party and on December 31st, 1919 and January 1st, 1920, the government, using the Army(?), raided the Workers and all but obliterated the Party by arresting and throwing into jail, some 4,000 members, including all local officials. This left the executive committee isolated from the workers, with no means of communicating with them. On the following day he (Ruthenberg) along with others that could be mustered, set out from town to town and city to city, to locate members who had escaped the "government onslaught", and appointed them as secretaries to get in touch with the remaining free members. In a period of three months the Party was functioning again. This was the supreme test of the Party and it emerged triumphant. The membership was depleted of course and workers were afraid to join them openly, but the Party was functioning, which was the main thing.

At this time the Party affiliated with the Communist International of Russia and adopted underground tactics and continued to function and grow in spite of all the efforts of the government and capitalists to locate their meeting places and exterminate them through the use of spies. The workers now had the example before them of the Soviet government of Russia which was functioning and making great strides forward under the workers and peasant regime.

In 1922 came the Bridgman convention in Michigan, at which the Party was "uncovered" when the meeting was raided by the government and all the leaders put under arrest. (Here Ruthenberg virtually issued a defy to the government, in the following language: "I want to call your attention to the fact that NOT ONE MAN IS IN PRISON TODAY, NOR DO WE ANTICIPATE THAT ANYONE WILL GO TO PRISON AND, IN PLACE OF DESTROYING THE PARTY, IT WAS THROUGH THIS TEST OF STRENGTH WITH THE GOVERNMENT THAT THE PARTY EMERGED FROM ITS UNDERGROUND CHANNELS AND BEGAN TO OPERATE OPENLY AS THE WORKERS' (COMMUNIST) PARTY OF AMERICA." This had been one of the great problems of the Party. Should they continue to operate underground or come out in the open? The Bridgman case decided it for them.

At this period another mistake was made which retarded their progress. They rejected the American Federation of Labor and endorsed the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW's).

In 1922, the "United Front tactics" were developed and put into action. In place of trying to draw the workers from the industries to the Party, the Party went within the industries to the workers and began to educate them in Communism, developing in them the militant revolutionary spirit. Shop and street nuclei were formed and the whole organization was welded together and functioning solidly.

A decided setback came to the Party when LaFollette came out and ran for President, which drew the votes of the workers away from the Party.

After the adoption of the "boring from within" policy, the Party moved ahead steadily, growing in strength until the present membership of 10,000 organized workers, closely welded into a whole through the nuclei, sub-sections, sections and districts, had one hundred times the strength that the Party of 65,000 members had back in 1919. Their force was irresistible and they would continue to grow, boring from within, until the workers of this country swept aside all resistance and rose in a militant overpowering revolution and overthrew the present capitalist regime and set up a government of Socialist Soviet Unions in this country.

Following this discourse, Ruthenberg announced that, although a charge of ten cents had been made at the door for admission, there would be a collection taken up for the benefit of this sub-section and that he hoped the audience would be as liberal as they could afford. He then called attention to a new booklet entitled, "The General Strike and the General Betrayal", written by John Pepper, alias "Peggy". This book deals with the British strike in detail and he recommended that everyone buy a copy as it was a true portrayal of the betrayal of the workers by the trade union leaders of England.

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Questions from the audience were then invited and Ruthenberg answered them as a whole.

He stated that Louis C. Fraina, formerly a very prominent Party member, had been completely exonerated from the charges of being a spy after a careful investigation by the Party and that he was still editing the "Revolutionary Age" in the East. (See Lusk Report, pages 684, 695, 1022.)

He stated that all controversy within the Party was now overcome since the Party leadership had been settled in full, and that, while the underground channels were not now in full use, they had not been abandoned, as one could never tell when they would be needed. He said that 35% of the Party had renounced the Church and that he was looking forward to the day when this would be 100%, which would mean 100% Communism within the Party.

Ruthenberg was lustily cheered when he concluded his remarks at 10:45 P.M.

* * * * *

(Note by H. A. JUNG) Ruthenberg is "at large", under bond on a writ of appeal. The Supreme Court will review his case this fall - and that's that.

THE FEDERATED PRESS LABOR LETTER
CHICAGO, WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 18, 1926
VOL. 12, NO. 20, PAGE 8, COLUMN 3,
ARTICLE 3

NEW YORK--(FP)--James Weldon Johnson, secretary of the Natl. Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People, is the new president of the American Fund for Public Service, popularly known as the Garland Fund. Robert W. Dunn, American Civil Liberties Union executive, was elected a fund director to replace Robert Morris Lovett. Other directors are Clinton Golden (Brookwood financial manager), vice-president; Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, secretary; Morris Ernst, treasurer; [REDACTED] Ben Gitlow, Roger Baldwin, Norman Thomas, [REDACTED] Frieda Kirchwey, Wm. Z. Foster, Scott Nearing. b7C

* * * * *

JOHNSON, JAMES WELDON

Secretary, National Association for Advancement of Colored People since 1920; director, American Fund for Public Service since 1922; trustee Atlanta University since April, 1924.

Born June 17, 1871, Jacksonville, Fla. Father a clergyman. Primary school, grammar, high school, Jacksonville; Atlanta University 1894; post graduate work, Columbia University 3 years.

U.S. Consul to Puerto Cabello, Venezuela, 1906; U. S. Consul to Corinto, Nicaragua 1909-12.

Author: The Autobiography of an Ex-Colored Man, 1912; Fifty Years and Other Poems, 1917; Self-Determining Haiti, 1920; The Book of American Negro Poetry, 1921; a number of songs; contributed poems to the Century, Independent, Crisis; English version of opera "Goyescas", produced at Metropolitan Opera House, 1915.

Member: New York Civic Club, Academy of Political Science, Society for Ethical Culture.

Home: 187 W. 135th St. Office: 69 - 5th Ave., New York City.

Is he a white man?

E. A. JUNG

17635

BIOGRAPHICAL SECTION

FOSTER, TH. J. Chairman, Workers' Party since 1934; secretary-treasurer, Union Educational League since organization 1920. Born February 25, 1881, Fair Mass. Father a cab washer. Went to work at age of 10 after attending school three years. Worked as a sculptor's apprentice, type founder, factory worker, engineer, steam fitter, railroad brakeman, railroad fireman, logger, salesman, car motorman, longshoreman, farmer, deep water sailor, railroad inspector. Joined Socialist Party 1900; expelled 1909 and joined I.W.O. Member brother of Railway Carmen. Arrested for participation in free speech fight, Spokane, Wash., 1908. Delegate from I.W.O. to Budapest meeting of Trade Unions Secretariat, 1910, but was awarded to A.P. of L. delegate. During 13 months' study of European labor movement, became convinced that policy of dual unionism was wrong; after return to U.S. took part in formation "Syndicalist League of North America, 1911. Helped to organize International Trade Union Educational League 1918; secretary of committee organizing 200,000 steel workers, 1918; conducted strike of 400,000 steel workers. Went to Russia, 1921; attended Congresses Communist International and 3rd International of Labor Unions; joined Communist Party candidate for U.S. President in first Communist election campaign, 1924. Author: Syndicalism; Trade unionism the Road to Freedom; The Revolutionary Crisis, 1918-20, in Germany, England, Italy and France; The Railroaders' Next Step-Amalgamation; The Bankruptcy of the American Labor Movement; The Russian Revolution; The Great Steel Strike. Office 1113 S. Washington Blvd., Chicago, Illinois.

THOMAS, CHARLES WILL Executive Secretary Workers Party of America since 1924. Born July 9, 1882, Cleveland. Father a longshoreman. Primary School, German Heron; business college Cleveland. Formerly a factory worker, clerk, manager and collection, newspaper correspondent, superintendent maintenance and employee. Organizer and secretary, Socialist Party 1909-19; Ohio executive committee 1910-19; national committee 1919-23; editor The Cleveland Socialist, 1911-13; editor Social Worker, 1914-19; executive secretary Communist Party of America 1919-20. Author: Let's Grow Up Toward Socialism 1917; After the War - What? 1918; Labor United Front, 1924. Home, 2804 Clark Ave., Cleveland, Ohio; office 1113 S. Washington Blvd., Chicago, Illinois.

ROBERT Political writer, cartoonist; executive committee Workers Party, 40 district. Born July 15, 1884, San Antonio, Texas. Father a school teacher lawyer. Attended school 4 years. Worked as sign painter, carpenter, railroad laborer, journalist. Member United Brotherhood of Carpenters & Joiners 1902-5; Press Writers' Union; central committee Socialist Party, W. Aided in organization of International Workers' Defense League, 1916; director for Tom Mooney and co-defendants in San Francisco "bomb case" growing out of 1916 street car strike. Arrested in Paris, 1918, by French railroad unionists to strike against shipment of munitions to Russia. Confined in American military prison at Coblenz, Germany, for 60 days. Released after signing of treaty at Paris. Editor, The Liberator until magazine was merged in Workers' Monthly, 1924. Executive Committee Party, 1921-23; central executive committee Workers Party 1922-23, later attending convention of Communist Party, Bridgman, Michigan, 1923. Executive Committee, Friends of Soviet Russia, 1923-24. Author: The Ramp-Up between Red and Black. Member Trade Union Educational League. Address, 1113 S. Washington Blvd. Chicago, Illinois.

ON THEIR LETTERHEAD DATED JULY 1926)

For the Economic Industrial and Political Freedom of All Producers

PROGRESSIVE FARMERS OF AMERICA

"UNITED WE STAND,
DIVIDED WE FALL"

"FARMERS OF THE WORLD UNITE"

NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE

WASHINGTON

Eliza Bowles, Presser
John Wraga, Arlington
Chas. H. Horn, Tracyton
Marjorie Ring, Downs,
Wm. Beuck, Seale-Hoelley

NORTH DAKOTA

R.H. Walker, Yucca
James A. Westrom, Sykeston
Ralph Ingerson, Flaxton
Elmer W. Cart, Kenmore
W. J. Maddock, Plaza

MINNESOTA

Sam O. Wallace, Perham
V.W. Shoemaker, No. Redwood

IDaho

A.W. Green, Port Hill
M. A. Anderson, Bonners Ferry

MONTANA

Hans Rasmussen, Daguer
P.J. Wallace, Plentywood
A.W. Hankal, Dooley
James Ostry, McCabe
Charles Lindeen, Raymond

WISCONSIN

Geo. F. Comings, Eau Claire
James Vint, Union Grove
Fred Schoennick, Wausau
F.H. Shoemaker, Green Bay
Anton Holley, Tisch Mills

SOUTH DAKOTA

Tom Ayers, Mitchell
August Peterson, Canterville
Alice L. Daly, Huron

The letterhead was signed by F. H. Shoemaker, 712 Chicago St., Green Bay, Wis., and he politely told me that I was not eligible and therefore could not secure the publication of his organization. This outfit publishes an extremely radical sheet known as "The Progressive Producer".

....

102-122299

K. H. B.

(2 P Y)

WORKERS (COMMUNIST) PARTY
Rm. 201 - 1113 W. Washington St.
Chicago, Ill.

July 16, 1926

TO ALL DISTRICT ORGANIZERS
AND CITY EXECUTIVE SECRETARIES:

17637

Dear Comrades:

Enclosed find proposals adopted for the organization of the Party for trade union work. This document is confidential and must not be copied.

Fraternally yours,

(Signed) [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

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ORGANIZATION OF THE PARTY TRADE UNION WORK

I. The CEC Trade Union Committee

General Functions. To elaborate the decisions of the Conventions and CEC of the Party dealing with the trade union work; to collect and elaborate material on the industrial life of the country; the economic condition of the working class, the economic struggles of the working class, the situation in and of the trade unions, etc.; to superintend the mobilization of the Party membership into the unions; to organize and give general guidance to the Party trade union fractions; to give general direction to the Trade Union Committee and industrial organizers in the District, City and Section Committees, and nuclei; to develop the main line of policy to be followed by the CPUSA and other left wing formations in the trade unions; to supervise the publication of trade union left wing journals and pamphlets and to provide material for the same; to issue regular bulletins of information on Party policy to the trade union fractions and to the committees and organizers engaged in trade union work; to submit reports to the CEC and to receive reports from all fractions and district trade union committees on the progress of the work in the trade unions; to inform brother Communist Parties on the trade union work of our Party by means of reports and collaboration in the International press.

Organization. The CEC Trade Union Committee shall be organized as follows:

Secretary. The TUC Secretary shall be responsible for the general application of the TUC decisions; call all meetings of the TUC; be a member of all sub-committees of the TUC; report regularly to the TUC and the CEC on the progress of the work. So far as practicable, meetings of the TUC shall be held weekly.

Fraction Secretary. The Fraction Secretary shall stimulate the mobilization of the Party membership into the unions; supervise the organization of the trade union fractions; maintain contact with all trade union fractions and

Party Trade Union Fraction

General Functions. The Communist members of a trade union organization and its organs and left wing groups (committees, conferences, conventions, etc.) must unite into a fraction and carry on active fractional work. The Communist fractions work with all their energy to bring the majority of the trade union members under their influence. The more devotedly, practically, and energetically they know how to meet the interests of these members, the better they understand how to defend proletarian interests in every way in all spheres, and on all occasions, and to link up the fight for the immediate tasks with the fight for the final aims of the working class, the more easily will they succeed in gaining this influence. This Communist work must be conducted within the framework of the statutes and decisions of the respective trade unions. The Party members must keep in mind that the fractions are not the foundation of the Party, and that therefore they can deal only with the questions of their respective field of activity. The Party Executive, through the TUG's, determines the political and tactical line of the fractions, directs and instructs them, and controls their activities. The Party Executives shall not interfere unnecessarily in the daily work and should give the fractions all possible freedom of action and initiative. The fraction Executives are obliged to give regular reports to the proper Party Executive, or to the proper department and higher fraction executive.

Organization. The general organizational principles to be applied in the formation of fractions are as follows:

Local. All Party members shall form fractions in their respective local unions and local TUEL groups. The fraction in a given local union and in the corresponding TUEL organization, shall be one body. This principle of combining the fractions in corresponding trade unions and TUEL organs shall be applied throughout the entire structure of the fractions.

District. Communist delegates to Central Labor Councils shall form themselves into fractions. Such fractions, in combination with the fractions in the leading organ of the local general TUEL groups, shall be the leading fractions of their respective cities. Communist delegates to District Councils of their respective trade unions shall form fractions and lead the fraction work locally in their trade, in combination with the corresponding TUEL fraction.

National. Fractions shall be formed in all congresses of the trade unions and TUEL. These shall be directed by the CUC-TUG.

In all executive committees of trade unions and TUEL groups, such as local unions, district councils, central labor councils, international unions, and TUEL local industrial, local general, national industrial and general national, the Communist shall form fractions, combining the fractions in the corresponding trade unions and TUEL groups. The Communist members in these trade union and TUEL executives shall form the executives of their respective fractions; except that the competent Party organs and fractions have the right to appoint such additional members to fraction executives as to insure their proper working.

The Party fraction system shall be extended to all branches of the trade union movement, A F of L and independent. Wherever practicable, Party fractions shall be established in company unions.

The fractions shall meet prior to trade union and TUEL group meetings. In the case of the TUEL, the fractions must avoid over-controlling its groups, as hereinafter

There shall be no fraction dues charged. The fractions, — ver, shall give active support to such financial programs as it may be outlined by the TUEL for its maintenance and functioning.

Youth fractions. The members of the YWL who belong to a trade union organization or the TUEL must join the corresponding Communist fraction, and participate in the fraction meetings. In addition, members of the YWL within the fractions shall be organized into youth fractions, which shall deal with the special questions of the young workers of the respective organizations. These youth fractions may have their own executives. The Communist youth fractions receive direct instructions from the proper executives on the one hand and from the Communist fraction executives of the respective trade union and TUEL group on the other. The Communist fraction executive and all the fraction members are obligated to support the activity of the youth comrades constantly and systematically.

The CIO-TUC shall intensify the campaign for the formation of trade union fractions, holding the corresponding Party organs responsible for the building of the fractions.

The CIO-TUC fractions secretary shall, wherever necessary, draft plans for fraction organization to meet the special problems of the various industries and localities.

IV General Relations of Fractions and TUEL

At the present time the main strategical objective of our Party in its trade union work is the building and broadening out of the Trade Union Educational League into a mass left wing movement in the trade unions. The upbuilding and functioning of the Party trade union fractions shall constantly be subordinated and directed to this end. A special danger that must be guarded against is the tendency to prevent the growth of the broad left wing organization by limiting left wing organizations simply to Party fractions. This liquidating tendency manifests itself under a variety of forms, among which are:

- a) Direct Substitution of Party Fractions for TUEL Groups. This harmful practice is widespread. It must be checked at all costs. Every Party fraction must be categorically instructed to form a TUEL group and to work through it in the trade unions.
- b) Ignoring of Existing TUEL Groups. This practice of fractions ignoring existing TUEL groups and going straight to the unions with their programs is akin to the foregoing. The rule shall be: Wherever there is a TUEL group, the Party fraction shall carry out the Party program of action in the union through the TUEL in all but the most exceptional circumstances where the TUEL does not act upon or rejects the Party policy; wherever there is no TUEL group, the Party fraction works directly in the union, but it shall be required to at once organize a TUEL group. The general work of building TUEL groups by the fractions shall be conducted by the TUEL nationally.
- c) Insistence by the Fractions upon too Advanced Programs for the TUEL. This is a liquidating influence, as it repels non-revolutionary but "progressive" workers. The TUEL program, which is essentially the Party's program of action in the trade unions, must be simplified and concentrated around burning everyday issues in the class struggle. The fractions must not insist upon the TUEL groups adopting the full Communist trade union program. Those phases of the Party trade union program which cannot be adopted by the TUEL shall be put forth by the fractions in the trade unions and in the TUEL primarily in propaganda.

(COPY)

give them the Party policies; issue a monthly bulletin of policy on trade union work to all the fractions and to the leaders and organizers engaged in trade union work; report regularly to the

Sub-Committees. The TUC shall have the following sub-committees:

- a) General Information; b) Left Wing Press; c) Latin American and Anti-Imperialism; d) Work Among Women, Negroes and the Youth; e) Committee for individual unions or groups of unions.

Into these TUC Sub-Committees shall be drawn leading comrades active in these respective spheres of Party work.

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II District, Local and Unclol Organisation for Trade Union Work

General Functions and Organizations.

Districts. All District Executive Committees shall establish and maintain union committees of not less than five or more than eleven members. There shall be as many as possible of whom shall be actually employed in industry, shall be drawn from the members belonging to and active in the most important unions in the headquarters city of the DEC's. These TUC's shall be organized into the necessary sub-committees. They shall meet regularly at stated periods, and submit regular detailed reports of their activity to the DEC-TUC and to their respective DEC's. They shall issue a bulletin of information and Party program for trade union work to their respective fractions and nuclei. They shall direct the general work of the local trade union fractions, subject to the general guidance of the DEC-TUC, their respective DEC's, and the national fraction of the respective unions. They shall also give general guidance to the local groups, subject to the general control of the DEC-TUC. The DEC's and their respective TUC's shall make it their special task to develop the initiative, vitality, and mass character of the local TUC groups.

City Centrals, Sections and Sub-Sections. These organizations shall have the same general lines of policy as outlined above for the DEC's. In cases where they are very small, they may have an industrial trade union committee. In such cases the functions of the TUC shall be essentially the same as those of a trade union committee as outlined above.

Nuclei. The shop must conduct all Party trade union work in factories and work places. Each shop nucleus shall select (or a trade union Committee if the nucleus is large enough) a principal duties shall be to supervise general work in the factory; to mobilize the Party members into the trade union work; to attend to the distribution of Party literature; to make necessary financial collections for the Party; to keep in close contact with the trade union higher Party organ, and with the local trade union fraction in his factory. The shop must industrial organization shall create definite groups of sympathizing elements and unionists in their respective factories. The foregoing shall be the main concentration groups and street nuclei, so far as their work in factories.

a) Transference of Party members from the Fractions into the TWT. It is vitally essential that the TWT have the face of a non-Party organization. Hence the practice of carrying Party quarrels into the TWT, and discussing purely Party matters there, must be discontinued. But matters should not yet be beyond the scope of the fraction meetings. In the TWT groups the Party members act as a unit. Palpable organizational cooperation of the TWT groups with the Party, such as common journals, leaflets, etc., must be avoided. The TWT shall show the utmost flexibility in the selection of leaders for its various local and national groups.

b) Over-Central of TWT Committees by Party Leaders. This harmful practice of flooding the TWT leading organs with Party leaders to the exclusion of sympathetic non-Party elements, prevents the growth of the TWT into a mass movement. It must be stopped, and the new organization emphasized, of enlisting reliable non-Party elements into various regional positions in the TWT.

c) Limiting the TWT Groups by the Fractions to a narrow range of issues. The TWT groups must be kept from becoming too narrow in scope. The TWT groups is especially fatal to the growth of a mass left movement in the future. It gives the TWT no real function and thus leads it to sterility. In general, the functions of the fractions shall be to carry out the main line of Communist Policy in the unions; they shall take part in all very complicated and controversial questions. But the fractions shall not transact the routine and detail work of the left wing. All this must be left to the TWT groups. The fractions must strive to make the TWT groups living bodies transacting vital business; they must seek to develop the initiative and interest of the non-Party elements. This cannot be done if the fraction members come into the TWT groups with "rubber stamp" programs. The aim of the fractions must be to permit the TWT groups freely to transact all possible left wing business compatible with the application of our Party program. The fractions must operate with the realization that they are set on end in themselves, and that the great task confronting them now is the building and broadening of the TWT into a mass left wing in the trade unions.

62-91
 "THE BRITISH TRADES UNION CONGRESS"
 LECTURE BY SCOTT HEARING UNDER THE
 AUSPICES OF THE WORKERS' SCHOOL OF
 THE WORKERS (COMMUNIST) PARTY AT THE
 NEW STAR CASINO, 101 EAST 107TH STREET,
 NEW YORK, N.Y., SEPTEMBER 19TH, 1936.


Some twelve hundred people assembled in the New Star Casino on Sunday afternoon, September 19th, for the purpose of hearing Scott Hearing, author, teacher and lecturer in the Workers' School of the Workers (Communist) Party with headquarters at 108 East 14th Street, New York City. Hearing's subject was "The British Trades Union Congress" and the lessons to be learned therefrom by the workers of America. He has just returned from England where he attended the Congress as delegate from America.

The meeting was scheduled to commence at two o'clock and there were about a thousand people present at this time, but the chairman of the meeting and Hearing did not appear until three o'clock. The period of waiting was filled in by dozens of solicitors passing through the audience selling pamphlets and books written by Hearing and taking up contributions for the British miners, Pasaden strikers and other funds sponsored by the Workers of other meetings and purchase tickets for same. One of the outstanding announcements was for a mass meeting to be held in the Central Opera House, New York City, Friday September 24th, in support of the following candidates endorsed by the Workers (Communist) Party.

For Governor	- Benjamin Gitlow
For U.S. Senator	- W. F. Dunne
For Congress	- W. W. Weinstein
For State Comptroller	- Julia Stuart Poole
Chairman of Meeting	- J. Stachel
Manager	- Ben Gold

At three o'clock Thomas Rothenberg, formerly editor of the German paper "Volkzeitung", appeared on the platform with Scott Hearing. He, acting as chairman, opened the meeting with a brief introduction of in which he lauded his publications, urged the audience to purchase and attend the Hearing meetings. He also urged the audience to attend the Workers (Communist) Party political meeting and support their candidates for the November elections and a mass meeting to be held in Madison Square Garden, September 21st, to protest the use of injunction during strikes, referring particularly to a strike now in progress in the garment trades in New York. He then spoke on the Workers' School stating that it was the agency through which the workers were to be educated to take their places in government work, when the workers secured control of the government, and also to be leaders in the education of their fellow workers.

He further stated that "comrades" were being sent to all points of the United States following the completion of their training in the Workers' School. Scott Hearing was a lecturer and that there were any other teachers who, with Hearing, were formerly connected with the School but had no connection there now. He then introduced Hearing to the audience.



No. 2.

Hearing received a hearty reception from the audience after which he proceeded with his analysis of the British General Strike and of the Trades Union Congress, as follows:

"The old labor leaders in Great Britain proved utterly incapable of handling the general strike and were totally unprepared for it although the British government had been preparing for the strike for many months. The old labor leaders like McDonald and Thomas, during the strike did nothing but plead with the government for some terms of settlement.

"After the strike was settled by the leaders against the wishes of A. J. Cook, head of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain composed of nearly a million members when the Trades Union Congress was held, Cook was forced by the impoverished condition of the miners to agree to the prohibition of discussion of the general strike and criticism of the old school leaders who had surrendered to the government, on the floor of the Congress, to gain the support of the old leaders for a movement to obtain financial aid for the miners.

"The general strike was a movement in support of the miners to enable them to maintain their standard of living. The workers compelled their union officials to order them out on strike. More workers were striking at the end of the nine-day period than when first called out. The strike was a failure because of the lack of competent leadership, the unpreparedness of the Trades Union Congress officials and the complete preparedness of the British government.

"In Great Britain there is an Act known as the 'Emergency Act' which places the entire control of the government in the hands of a commissioner appointed for that purpose. This Act can be invoked and declared in force at any time by the King. All civil rights are abrogated by this Act and it can be compared with the 'Injunction' in America. The commissioner with the powers conferred upon him by the 'Emergency Act', is virtually 'dictator' of the country.

"The positions of McDonald and the other old school leaders in Great Britain corresponded with the officials of the American Federation of Labor in America. They had grown away from the workers and no longer represented the workers' ideals. The British General Strike demonstrated that the workers could operate the government as order was maintained with no loss of life and few injuries even though the workers were in control in the large industrial centers. All that was lacking was leadership. This is the lesson that America must learn and men must be schooled and trained to take their places as leaders when such an emergency arises.

"Another lesson was learned which surprised the world. This was the world-wide solidarity shown by workers of every country. Russia poured millions of rubles into England in support of the strike and in every other country the workers contributed to the support of the strike, endeavoring also to prevent shipment of coal to England. Unstable conditions in England today were in direct contrast to the stability of Russia under the Soviet Government regime. The Communist Party of Great Britain doubled its membership between May and August of this year. All that they lacked was capable leaders which would have to be developed because of the helplessness of the old leaders."

This concluded Hearing's talk and in answer to questions handed up to him, he simply repeated his statements that the outstanding need of the workers was capable leaders who could step in and take control of the government in time of need. For that reason the workers should attend the Workers' School and learn the science of government.

No. 3.

Rothenberg, as chairman, again spoke about the great work being done by the Workers' School in educating workers and urged everyone present to take an active part in propagating the work of the school.

Hearing carefully avoided any revolutionary talk in his speech being content with praising the Soviet Government and urging the workers to attend the Workers' School under whose auspices this meeting was being held and where he was a lecturer.

The whole meeting from start to finish was propaganda for the Workers' School of the Workers (Communist) Party.

17645

FROM THE BUREAU TO THE
 WORLD CONGRESS -
 REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
 OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL -
 PUBLISHED FOR THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL
 SIGNAL BY THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF GREAT
 BRITAIN, 28 KING STREET, COVENT GARDEN,
 LONDON, W.C.2 - 1934 (Pages 78 - 79)

12

62-122

THE CHANGING MAP OF CHINA

The main feature of the political life of China in the last year and a half is the strengthening and consolidation of American influence in North and Central China. The election of Tiao-Kun, who was supported by America, is the expression of this increase of the American influence, and signifies the strengthening of the great military party, the so-called Chihli Clique. The struggle for the hegemony of China between America and Japan can be considered as settled for the time being, for after the earthquake Japan became dependent upon America. The entire policy of the Peking Government recently, and particularly its attitude on the question of recognition of Soviet Russia, betrays American influence.

The period from the Fourth to the Fifth Congress of the Communist International shows two tendencies from the point of view of the development of the labor and revolutionary movement in the country: (1) strengthening of the offensive of capital in alliance with Chinese militarism against the young labor movement in Central and North China on the one hand, and (2) strengthening of the unification of the national-revolutionary movement in the south on the other. The capitalist offensive commenced in China in the middle of 1923. The previous development of the labor movement on the one hand, and the efforts of capital to wreck this movement on the other, led to the tremendous political strike on the Peking-Hankow Railway in February, 1923. The workers fought stubbornly for the existence of their unions and their organizations. But the violence with which foreign capital in alliance with the subordinate Chinese bourgeoisie and militarists attacked this strike increased in proportion with the stubbornness of the workers. As a result of the suppression of this strike by military force, shootings, beatings, mass arrest, and expulsions, the bourgeoisie were able to wreck the trade unions and other organizations in Central China and to hold up the labor movement for a time.

By the end of 1923 and the beginning of 1924 the labor movement in China recovered to some extent. The Trade Unions which were forced underground have renewed their activities, and although it is too early to speak of success yet, nevertheless a considerable growth of the movement has been observed in the last three months.

In the national-revolutionary movement an important change has taken place in the Kuomintang Party, the National National-Revolutionary Party, under the leadership of Sun Yat-sen. This change has put the party well on the way to a real national-revolutionary struggle against imperialism in all its forms: it will now abandon its old tactics of fighting against one group of militarists with the support of another. The party is now in a position to undertake the leadership of its own tactics. In the middle of January, 1924, the Congress of the Kuomintang took place. The first held during the 12 or 13 years of existence of the party. This is a great step towards a broad mass movement, which alone can realize the goal of real national independence. In taking the fight against imperialism in 1923 on the question of collection of customs duties in its declarations and manifestos addressed to the world proletariat, and finally in calling the first Congress of the Party. The leader of the Kuomintang Party and the head of the Canton Government, decisively shows the road of revolutionary struggle against world imperialism. This opening his approach to the Soviet Union and the honor shows the memory of our leader Comrade Lenin. On the death of Lenin a three-days' mourning was declared in Canton, and meetings were held, etc.

62-12299

In all this work, in the ideological and organizational transformation of the "Kuomintang", our comrades of the Communist Party of China, who formed the Kuomintang, played an extremely important part. The differences of opinion which existed in the Party in 1923 with reference to the attitude toward the Kuomintang, were thoroughly investigated by the Executive. A resolution was adopted on the question of the movement for national liberation and the attitude of the Communist Party, and was consequently carried into effect by the Party. Differences of opinion on the tactics of the liberation movement no longer exist.

Our Party, which is illegal in North and Central China, and can work openly only in South China, has considerably developed and become strengthened. It has only 600 members, but it is in a fair way of developing. There also exists the Youth League with 2000 members, which is under the leadership of the Party. The Party published a monthly and several weeklies.

The fundamental questions confronting the Party at present, in addition to the question of the attitude toward the national-revolutionary movement, are to organize and rally the working masses, rebuild the ruined labor organizations, and stabilize and develop the Party itself. The Congress of the Party, which was held in the middle of 1923, and the Party Conferences, show that our Party is progressing very well.

.....

May 3, 1927
H. A. Jung/RP

(written on University of Illinois
stationery, but Chicago postmark)

6/28/37

17647

(Page No. 1)

To the Legion Leavenworth jailbird rot Busby;

Says Clemmensen that Perching women should have been
fucilladed the first day in a trench brothel for being a damned Yankee - he
got a U.S. General Arigand patent. Do ye see these in the Harding cabin with
the rag of the thieves on the Levi Nathan?

(Page No. 2)

Lord, strike this bastard land - strike it now -
strike it hard the wolech shark
Get the U.S. curses to Hell
All labor will rise the Soviet way
Strike the cowardly bastards of the Legion rot.

(Page No. 3.)

O, say can ye stand the bastardly stink there??
This the Legion Leavenworth jailbird rot
This the holdup cannibal vampire rot
This the Coolidge Coonack and his toment bitch-
she tosses her clothes in the whiskey filled tub till
she abandons herself to the Otto Kahn, the
garlic Jew to get the whoretips from
the stinking neuror Jews - Vermont wamers - former
cancer bladdered - U.S. cannibal wolech ?? - ye
flock of swine,

(Note - On the first line on this sheet there is evidence that some person as-
sisted the writer of the letter. The word "ye" was lettered over, a different
type of letter "e" being used and harder pencil was used. Other corrections are
evident.)

(Page No. 4.)

with the bastard flag the shylock scurvers
wolech tag the flag at which all the Devils
in Hell rebel the bastard woren tag that's
tagged U.S.

(Page No. 5.)

They never won one battle but stole the world's
gold; starve women and children, the vagabond
rot, wherever they carry their bastardly pet,
Lord strike - O, say, can ye stand the bastardly
stink?

(Page No. 6.)

Come out, you bastardly coward and we'll tie you
before a cannon and blow ye to atoms, you and that
Jew lickspittle in that White House sty - no wonder
even the Rumanian bitch snubbed that Coolidge
Coonack toughest(?) bitch; U.S. property? All
stolen you swine. Is there anything you did not
thieve?

Signature ?

(Note - The words "U. S. SOVIET" were red pencilled throughout the center of
pages 4, 5 and 6. The whole letter was written very illegibly, with a soft
pencil and was hard to decipher. Original on file with W.A. Jung, Suite 1007 -
133 W. Washington St., Chicago.)

NOT RECORDED

b7C

Mr. Harrison is an ex-soldier who worked on many campaigns in this with distinction and was an excellent speaker. He has been a prominent through his activities in organizing the Fellowship of Youth for Peace and later he became National secretary. From his vision that this was the American Youth Movement. That same year he went to Europe to organize the various youth movements of the different countries in preparation for a world convention planned for the spring of 1926. Under the guidance of Harrison, this organization worked hand in hand with the youth division of The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. In "The Nation" of December 24th, 1924, Harrison declared himself an ex-soldier and a pacifist and urged all young ex-soldiers "to join the Fellowship of Youth for Peace. He speaks against taking part in war and joins hands with Harry T. Ward of the American Youth League (now Communist-controlled), Frederick J. Libby and [redacted]. In the February 24th issue of "The World Tomorrow", the Fellowship of Youth for Peace is heralded as a revolt against the positions of accepting war as a necessary evil and speaks about there being a cooperative agreement with the Fellowship of Reconciliation.

In an address at Harper Assembly Hall of the University of Chicago on February 28th, 1925, Mr. Harrison admitted that conduct is determined by that gallery to which one reacts. He stated that there are over a hundred peace movements loose today, their object being to encourage conscientious objectors, rewrite text books along lines of pacifism, bring the church to their point of view and to this end they are to attempt to:

Capture the teachers, - which is much more to their advantage than to rewrite the text books.

Capture the young preachers and the young missionaries.

Make use of the ex-soldiers of the Legion.

Concentrate on the big union leaders.

He stated that he had seen a contract that had been let by Congress to a New England manufacturer to make the uniforms for the next war. That Congress should give a decoration to every conscientious objector (after the only evidence of the event).

He charged his audience to "dare to bring discredit and ridicule on the military and the fetish of the flag", - to give "action in resistance to military training" - "to get 'kicked' Out of schools and colleges for refusing to train".

His reply to the one courageous person who was not in line with his thought was that a conscientious objector is a patriot and serves his country by kicking out a conscientious objector is the enemy country.

b7c

[illegible][illegible]

An article appearing in the "New York Times" of March 12, 1964, in the form of a letter to the editor, states as follows:

The leader of the Fellowship of Reconciliation (known also as the "F.R.") is Mr. Thomas Q. Hay, Jr., who is regarded as being a "liberal" as well as a "peace" man. The Fellowship is a religious organization which is very active in the field of international relations and the disarmament of nuclear weapons.

Fred Martin, 1st Lt. 1st Cavalry, 1945-1946

"In a recent hearing in Boston, June 20 held at the Unitarian Church, that city, Mr. Harrison among others, states the 'little movement in the colleges was drifting back to the Organism'. 'Well, now we are working, at the present time, to arouse the church from its slumber'. How can I be a patriot? My country is an empire of 200 countries. My country is opposing the Britishers, Mexico, Latin America all of us to be the enemies of the world'. It is not up to the youth."

"The Fellowship of Youth for Peace" and the Youth League of the Fellowship of Reconciliation exchanged its list with known Communist organizations. Continuing the report on the Boston gathering, Mr. Karam said in substance that we are tired of this world war is piling up now. The Japanese youth are poor. * * * The Japanese are very afraid of the future of war. * * * The youth of the world are no longer to be in a war state. It is all wrong. * * * I met some Chinese students in America, and said they did not want us to win. The Chinese war has kept them in even Russia. * * * China is willing to accept help from Russia as long as it can help her, but Russia would. * * * For a little between children and the on account of lack of food for the United States. * * * Youth have not a Norway a great success."

"The gucks of 'The new idea between us and world' is that we
 world. I have been working in the Youth Movement for three years. The
 far too recent tried to keep us from teaching nations to be a world
 guide. The Japanese say we keep soldiers from teaching nations to
 our enemies, the Japanese."

"We resolve that Father and a sister, both named 'John'."

[illegible]

"Youth in colleges are leading the Peace movement; they are in the New social order - the power of Gandhi and [redacted] building new power." He said that as he came across the country he called out 40 students in colleges, gathered them in prayer and held in a break camp. "They students were studying [redacted] book. We must build a nucleus of new clean lives. Some of the students work on the land; there are groups working on Peace protests. Some will take family life, how can we wait until they are married."

HN:DSS

62-12299-12

17651

May 10, 1927.

Mr. Harry A. Jung,
Suite 1007,
138 West Washington Street,
Chicago, Ill.

Dear Sir:

I am in receipt of your communication
of May 3rd., and have noted the contents thereof.

Thanking you and with best wishes,

Very truly yours,

Director.



4-7021

IMPORTANT - FIELD SPECIAL
REPORT ON COMMUNIST PLANS
FOR AMERICA - JUNE 11, 1926.
H. A. JUNG - NCPIA

12

* * * * *

With "peace at any price" for a slogan, the two warring factions of the Communist Party in America have ironed out their differences and were able to present a united front at the recent "congress" of the Third Internationale which sent them back to the United States with a "fervent blessing" and with an emphatic reminder that the fate of the world-wide revolution of the proletariat depends almost entirely on the success or failure of the American comrades.

The "congress", which was attended by delegates from practically every important nationality, beheld the Americans - Foster and Ruthenberg, erstwhile leaders of the embattled factions, (or fractions, as they are called in radical terminology) figuratively shaking hands for the glory and advancement of the Communist movement in the United States. While traces of hostility could hardly be obliterated, both the Fosterites and Ruthenbergers united in praise and endorsement of the American Resolution which was adopted by a unanimous vote of the delegates to the "congress".

The resolution, copies of which are now available together with the comments occasioned by its introduction and adoption, is already being hailed by radicals in general and Communists in particular as a stepping stone to hitherto undreamed of activity and hoped-for achievements. In order to make its adoption possible with the least possible friction, compromises were effected and maintained and more or less perpetuated between the leaders of the factions which for a while threatened to disrupt the party in America.

A summary of the resolution reveals as perhaps nothing else the status of the Communist movement in the United States as viewed by its responsible leaders - their hopes and their misgivings frankly expressed and freely discussed.

It endorses, in a general way, the main line of policy and trade union work adopted by the communist "Trade Union Educational League". It expresses confidence in the loyalty of both factions in the Communist Party. It corrects or attempts to correct the serious mistakes made by the leaders during the anthracite strike, when they are charged in having misunderstood "a trade union strike for trade union purposes" as the signal and initial step to the long-looked-for mass revolution in the United States.

The resolution then emphasizes the importance of reorganizing the "Trade Union Educational League" with a view to bringing into its organizations and committees "the largest possible number of non-party workers, and the general instruction to concentrate the energies of the party upon building a mass left wing in the American trade unions".

The resolution expressly provides for a "certain division of work", giving the Fosterites practical monopoly of party work among trade unionists, while the Ruthenbergers are to retain charge of general party activities. The division is made both obligatory and specific, one faction being empowered to cultivate its own field and exclude the other from its sphere of influence. Ruthenberg, it is understood, promised to obey this provision rather sullenly, while Foster was more enthusiastic in his endorsement.

The resolution embraces the following important points: Organization of the unorganized workers, with more concentration upon the "heavy

industries" (clay industry is one) without, however, neglecting the lighter industries; struggle against company unions; intensive work among negroes; full assistance to the building up of the Youth Movement in America; utilization of the agrarian crisis in the United States for more effective work among the farmers; intensification of the work among the women; systematic attention to the struggle against imperialism and the establishment of organic connection with the labor and liberation movements of the colonies.

In his declaration to the "congress", preparatory to his vote for the resolution, Ruthenberg made it clear, it seems, that the factional struggle in the United States among himself and the Fosterites has been purely on lines and differences as to policy rather than from individual motives.

The following excerpt from Ruthenberg's speech may throw some light on the aims of the reunited factions of the Communist Party in America:

"We realize the importance of the role that the United States is playing today in the capitalist world. We realize, as emphasized in this resolution, the importance of the fight which our party must make against the mighty American imperialism. We realize that for this purpose we must have a united party, that can carry out the lines of the executive committee, that this party cannot be a guild party which centers its attention upon one phase of the struggle, but, as set forth in this resolution, it must take up every phase, must mobilize the exploited workers, the agrarian and negro workers, to back up the struggle against American imperialism in the South and Central American countries, and we pledge ourselves here that we will do our utmost to carry out this decision, that we will endeavor to begin to build a strong party that can grow into the leader of the American proletariat and in the future challenge the mighty imperialism and all together with the Communist parties of the capitalist countries....deal a final blow to this imperialism."

It remained, however, for the English Communist, [redacted] to make some pithy remarks as to the condition of the communist-radical movements in America and to the difficulties which constantly beset them and which, of course, it is their aim and avowed purpose to overcome. [redacted] probably expressed the sentiment of his American comrades when he said in part:

"I want simply to point out that the American Party has a very significant role to play in the world politics, even in some cases a decisive role so far as the struggle is concerned.

"I also want to point out to the comrades that this trouble (factional warfare) which has existed for some time in our party in America is not due simply to any personal squabbles between individuals, but is mainly due to the very difficult conditions which our brother party has to work in. In America they have a very strong and powerful capitalist class which is taking active measures to strangle the labor movement in America and in addition you have a labor movement - a trade union movement - in America, dominated by the most reactionary trade union officials that the mind of anyone could conceive.

"Taking these two facts in consideration, there is at least a very large explanation of the difficulties which have confronted our brother party in America. This resolution which has been agreed to takes a very definite stand and assesses these facts at their true value.

"I simply want to tell you that we believe that this resolution is going to lay the basis for the ending of the very deep-rooted factional strife that has prevented our brother party in America from pulling its full weight in the struggle. This resolution offers an opportunity to both the tendencies in the American workers party to work harmoniously, to cooperate with each other, and by mutual cooperation of work to build a real mass Communist party in America.

"I also want to say that the resolution takes a very definite and drastic stand against fractionalism and the recrudescence of fractionalism. It also offers, or makes more explicit, several of the tasks of our brother party. Notably, the question of more intensive work among the farmers, a more insistent taking up of the problem of the negroes, the greater stand for the independence of the south American countries, and in this connection the American workers party has already to its credit several very notable achievements. No less a person than the President of the Mexican Republic has sent a telegram congratulating the workers party on the fight it has been making against American imperialist intervention in Mexico.

"I want to point out that both the fractions in America are going back resolved that there shall be no more of this fractional struggle.

"Also, that the American comrades are going back to rally around the executive committee to carry out the tasks which have been laid down in the resolution and to build up in America a real mass Communist party that shall bring the American working class under its banner and under the banner of the Communist."

Imprekorr (International Press Correspondence) setting forth the reports of the delegates, gives a detailed account of many American cities that now have well functioning "shop" and "street" nuclei (Communist centers).

* * * * *

REPORT OF WALTER TRUMBULL BANQUET
IN CONJUNCTION WITH FOURTH ANNI-
VERSARY OF "THE YOUNG WORKER",
OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE YOUNG WORKERS
(COMMUNIST) LEAGUE OF AMERICA -
SUNDAY, MARCH 7TH, 1926.

The above meeting took place at the Imperial Hall, 2409 North Halsted Street, Chicago, Illinois (intersection of Fullerton, Halsted and Lincoln Ave.). The hall is located on the second floor, above some retail stores and diagonally across from the McCormick Theological Seminary, many students of which are embryo Communists.

Max Schachtman, member of the National Executive Committee of the Young Workers League and editor of the "Young Worker", a Communist of wide repute and an effective speaker, presided at the meeting and introduced the various speakers.

The meeting commenced at 7:45 P.M., and concluded at 10 P.M., with the hall slowly filling until some 375 people were in attendance, almost evenly divided as to male and female and a fair number of young boys and girls.

The so-called comrades were seated around a table in the hall (used as a dance hall) and consisted of the speakers that were introduced later on, and these were as follows, with exception of one colored comrade, whose name was not mentioned and who did not speak:

Robert Minor, Bridgman, Michigan, defendant; editor of "The New Magazine", a Saturday supplement of the "Daily Worker"; Communist writer of note and assigned more particularly to the organization of negro workers; cartoonist de luxe of the Communists of the country; bald pate, gray over the temples and slovenly dressed, in a workman's blue shirt.

Rose Carsten, Business Manager of the "Labor Defender", official organ of the International Labor Defense; writer and fairly effective speaker of the "sob-sister" variety; Jewish, but American born; of sloven appearance and not at all attractive.

Jay Lovestone, author of "The Government-Strikebreaker"; member of the Central Executive Committee of the Workers Party; associate editor of the "Daily Worker" and one of the most important cogs in the Communist machine in the United States; looks like a professional man - dentist, doctor, etc., etc.; is a splendid orator and held his audience spellbound and giving vent to frequent applause in his tirade against militarism; American representative of the Third International.

Samuel Darcy, Secretary of the Young Workers (Communist) League; forceful speaker, with a slight accent, either Jewish or French and his name is probably an alias or perhaps spelled D'Arcy.

Nathan Kaplan, Business Manager and Editor of the "Young Worker", which is the official organ of the Young Workers (Communist) League of America; slender; dark; about 5'7" in height; 140 pounds; emotional talker; and garbed as a workman; American representative of the YCI.

Walter Trumbull, ex-United States soldier; dishonorably discharged; recently released from Alcatraz military prison; about 5'6" in height; of stocky build; black, woolly hair, growing low over the forehead; tanned complexion; deliberate speaker, weighing each word; fairly effective.

Sam Overgaard, member of Local 390 of District No. 8, of the International Association of Machinists; effective speaker; Scandinavian.

Rosenberg, given as a member of the non-partisan Freiheits Jugend Club; Jewish; very poor speaker, mumbling and not effective.

A young lad, about twelve years of age, whose name was not given, but who was introduced as a "young pioneer", briefly extended greetings from the "young pioneers"(?) to Comrade Trumbull and did so without hesitating or stumbling in his talk.

A burly Polish worker, announced as a representative of the Polish language section of the Workers(Communist) Party of America, and who spoke very brokenly, completed the program.

All of the speakers above outlined, extended greetings to Trumbull and thereafter developed themes in ten-minute talks that repeatedly brought the audience to their feet, when particularly rabid thrusts were made against militarism, capitalism, the government and the present order of things.

Max Schachtman dominated the meeting and spoke five or ten minutes every time he introduced a speaker. In his opening statement he declared that it was a fitting moment to introduce and welcome Comrade Trumbull, for the meeting, beside being one of welcome to a returned comrade who had lately suffered at the hands of the capitalistic state, also was arranged for as the fourth anniversary meeting in celebration of the birth of the "Young Worker". He stated that when he was "across" and first heard of Comrades Trumbull and Crouch being arrested and incarcerated, that he and his soldier "buddies" believed that the story was a fake, because they could not imagine that the reactionary arm of the capitalist government, namely the United States Army, had been entered by any comrades, and when they returned to the United States and found that it was so, they were delighted to have the arrests of Crouch and Trumbull confirmed, for the arrest of these two comrades, would focus public opinion on the ill treatment all United States soldiers had been accorded, both "across" and in camps in this country and in its island possessions.

He then introduced Robert Minor, who, in his effective, sneering way, with the showing of teeth, said: "This is not a pacifist meeting", and then developed an allegory between an incident which had occurred on November 7th, 1917, referring to the Russian revolution, and the incident that had occurred when Crouch and Trumbull had been arrested. He very effectively picturized what he declared were two of the most momentous incidents in the history of the world - the Russian revolution and the incarceration, of Crouch and Trumbull, inasmuch as the former incident had brought into existence, the first Soviet republic and the second incident was the first step in bringing on the working class revolution and the final fruition of the American Soviet republic. In concluding his remarks, addressing himself directly to Trumbull, he said:

"I greet you Comrade Trumbull and know you will be Com-mandant Trumbull, Red Chief of the American Soviet republic Army and Navy."

Rose Carsten was then introduced and made an impassioned plea for the release of all class war prisoners, namely Mooney, Billings, Sacco, Vanzetti and "hundreds of others" still behind the bars and put there by the reactionary capitalists. She pleaded for cooperation from the Young Workers League, to increase the circulation of the "Labor Defender", which, she said, was doing well, but needed a greater general circulation other than those that were financially contributing right along.

Jay Lovestone dwelled on the militarism of capitalism and the "frame-up" tactics of industrialists and others, on comrades, to make the public believe the country was in danger. (A very insidious statement, when coupled with the fact that every speaker at the meeting used the word "revolution", innumerable times.)

b7C

Sam Darcy, the next speaker, read from a copy of the Congressional Record, the speech of Senator Watson of Indiana, regarding the supposed shooting of soldiers by their officers and their hanging, without trial, for minor infractions of army regulations, making much of this and concluding with the declaration that this speech by Senator Watson had been suppressed by the government and was not reprinted by newspapers and that it constituted the gravest indictment against militarism and the militaristic system of the United States.

Nathan Kaplan, in speaking of the "Young Worker", the official organ of the Young Workers (Communist) League of America, regretted that tactical retreats had to be made, for financial reasons and that the paper was being issued only semi-monthly at the present time. Larger type on account of economic reasons, was being used, but the paper had weathered four years of a strenuous existence and would, in all certainty, again become a weekly before very long. He told his audience that they knew, as well as he did, that the paper had contained features that made it a distinct literary classical sheet and its satirical cartoons, in connection with the capitalist system and government exploitation of its citizenry, had resulted in the making of many young Communists and that he spoke with authority, that there were no less than two million of these, between the ages of 12 and 22, now in the country and that they were working in colleges, theological seminaries, schools, the church and in all other kinds of institutions, no matter where they might happen to be.

The next speaker was Sam Overgaard of Local No. 390, District No. 8 of the International Association of Machinists, who declared that while his local was not a Communist organization, it had 100 ex-service men in its membership of 400, that would refuse to serve in the next war and would be conscientious objectors and that he believed that of the 2000 organized machinists in the Chicago district, many more, because of the program of Local No. 390, would also become conscientious objectors. In fact, he declared, they would tell the government that they would not only not fight, but would refuse to make ammunition, so that the capitalists could have shot down by the country's workers, the workers of other countries. Local No. 390, he declared, had affiliated itself with the International Labor Defense, for the release of all class war prisoners and were especially desirous that the meeting should go on resolution with a protest for the release of Paul Crouch.

Rosenberg, of the non-partisan Freiheits Jugend Club, had been delegated to appear at the meeting to extend fraternal greetings to Comrade Trumbull (note his use of the word "Comrade", despite the fact that the organization he represented was declared to be non-partisan).

Walter Trumbull, the ex-soldier, was the last speaker on the program. After some initial hesitation, he managed to get along very nicely. He eulogized Crouch, stating that he was the sort of a man that everyone coming in contact with, would love and that he was merely a disciple of Crouch's. He said that whatever he accomplished, Crouch should receive the credit. When Crouch started the Hawaiian Communist League, he first approached him (Trumbull) and broached the subject and outlined his plan, which was to teach Esperanto to the soldiers of the garrison and in teaching this, to make use of articles appearing in the press about Russia and from that branch into the benefits to be derived through the Communal form of government. He said he at first remonstrated that under this program, both of them would be put in the guard house, but that Crouch, with the stronger mind (Trumbull is very modest), prevailed upon him to go through with the program and finally got seventy-five members amongst the soldiers before it was really discovered what their intent was. He said that he and Crouch were Communists and both of them would probably go to jail time after time, as long as the

capitalist system remained in the saddle, for Crouch just recently had refused to sign a paper refuting his last Communistic statements, which, if he had signed, would have gained for him his freedom under a promise made by the military authorities at Alcatraz. His concluding statement, referring to the coming revolution in this country, was:

"By God, we are going to have it."

Schachtman, as chairman, then proposed a resolution, which would be properly drafted by the comrades, as a protest for the release of Paul Crouch and the audience cheered vociferously as a sign that this resolution was unanimously favored.

The announcement was then made that Robert Minor and other Communist speakers would talk at 3118 Giles Avenue, Chicago, Illinois, Sunday evening, March 14th, under the auspices of the All-America Anti-Imperialist League and that Walter Trumbull would again be a speaker.

After the meeting, sandwiches and fruit were served, perhaps largely to pay for the fifty cents admission and in passing, it might be remarked that all those that entered the hall, were closely quizzed as to their affiliation or purpose in attending.

* * * * *

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GENERAL COUNSEL, GOOD, CHILDS, ROSS & WERCOTT
MEMBER { LEAGUE FOR INDUSTRIAL RIGHTS
NATIONAL INDUSTRIAL CONFERENCE BOARD

ZANESVILLE, OHIO OFFICE
September 28th, 1926

Dear Friend:

A Moscow despatch says hundreds of "Red" students are coming to our country - what for? - to study? - no - but as propagandists.

A great many of my friends tell me that I am unduly exercised with progress being made by the "Reds". They say our people are too sensible and too patriotic to listen to the "mouthings" of the "Red" agitators. I am quite certain bearing in mind the mass of evidence that I have accumulated, that my friends are "all wet". A week has not passed during the last number of months in which some new "Red" medium has not been started. Last week it was "The Square Deal" - this week it's "The New Student". A couple of weeks ago it was the "Pyramid Builder" and antedating that, "The New Masses", previous to which "The United Farmer" came on the scene and before that the "Modern Quarterly". "The New Student" so soon after the arrival of "Red" students - isn't it significant? I tell you "they are getting somewhere".

Constructive mediums as counter-propaganda are all too few in number and woefully under-financed. I am enclosing some propaganda literature for your careful consideration and am hoping you will at least read about "The New Student". The contributors are so-called "advanced thinkers". I say they're OCT "Reds" and my records will so prove.

As I see it, the American Citizenship Foundation is our one best bet. When you are approached on this proposition, put your shoulder to the wheel for the cause of God and Country!

Sincerely yours,

H. A. Jung
COMMISSIONER
H. A. Jung

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(C O P Y)

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NEW STUDENT
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Opinion
Recommended
and
Contributed
By
Alexander Meiklejohn
Hendrik Van Loon
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and others

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12

MEMORANDUM ON THE TRADE
UNION EDUCATIONAL LEAGUE
THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 9TH,
1926

—

(COMMISSIONER'S NOTE) This memorandum was compiled in answer to numerous requests for information as to the justification held by certain elements for the continued existence of the Trade Union Educational League and what purpose it was serving. In the judgment of the writer, the activities of this Communist organization constitute a menace to the possible orderly progress of bona fide trade unions whose existence society has recognized, when properly conducted, as serving the needs of certain industries along very definite lines.

* * * * *

The Trade Union Educational League came into existence as a protest against the complete lack of policy - in the trade unions. The Left Wing of the trade unions rallied to its support and now they say, "the face of Gompers is the face of reality in America as the face of the Czar was the face of reality in Russia".

The declaration now is that "the League is a training school and a machine shop; it takes these raw militants and turns them into 'engineers of the revolution' with a shop to work in".

It is explained that "when these practical engineers gather in conference, practical results are sure to come out of it". Such a gathering was the Second General Conference held in Chicago, September 1-2, 1923. It turned out revolutionary tactics and programs and was "like a gathering of technicians, no oratory but lots of realistic practical discussion". Plain men and women were there - "a large majority native Americans - and all fighters". They saw the conference as a great factory "smoothly producing the engines of revolution that will change the whole structure of society - the militant trade unionists with organization and program fitted to lead the working class to victory over capitalism".

These militants, summoned from all over the country, declared their purposes:

"We believe in the solidarity of the working class. We look forward confidently to the time when the workers will not only be organized into industrial unions but these unions will be all locked together in a great class industrial organization moving in one unbreakable phalanx.

"The Trade Union Educational League, in driving ahead for a great united front of LATOP, advocates federation on the political field and amalgamation on the industrial field. We call upon the workers of field and factory, of office and shop, to form on the one hand, a great all-inclusive federated labor party, and on the other hand, close-knit amalgamated industrial unions and then to unite both of these branches together by basing the labor party directly upon the industrial unions.

"With this great weapon in their hands, a united co-related political and industrial movement animated by a spirit of revolution, it will not take long until the workers have put an end to the capitalist system and embarked upon a new social order organized to protect the interests of useful producers. Such a united front politically and industrially, is the sine qua non of working class emancipation. All efforts must be directed toward its accomplishment."

6

This set of affirmative statements was adopted and ordered printed in leaflet form for wide distribution throughout the United States. This organization is governed by a National Committee of seven members. W. Z. Foster is National Secretary-Treasurer and one of the seven committeemen. The real character of this League should be evident, for it opposes and supports the Red International of Labor Unions and holds that its (RIU) ultimate goal of a Workers' Republic is the only possible solution of the contradictions and injustices of our present industrial and social system. In other words, it is further conveyed that:

"The Red International is the revolutionary labor organization of the world-wide working class. It repudiates entirely the system of production for profit and stands for the establishment of a Workers' Republic. It condemns the 'rotten' capitalist system, root and branch. It does not propose the patching up of the present industrial order, but its complete abolishment. This, it holds, can come only through the dictatorship of the proletariat."

It is recorded that the League has attained its prominence through a series of "Treatments" by the American Federation of Labor. The steps to progress are enumerated as follows:

First - Reactionary trade union bureaucracy paid little attention - tried to negate its efforts by a conspiracy of silence (referring to Mr. Gompers and associates).

Second - Cover the League with a deluge of wild and unmeasured vilification denounced as "red" conspiracy, engineered by the arch Bolsheviks of Russia to destroy the American labor movement.

Third - Campaign of violence against the League's militants physical assault.

Fourth - Disfranchising Left "big militants from holding office in the unions - wiping names from ballots or refusing to seat them if elected.

Fifth - Brutally expelled.

Sixth - Revocation of charters.

The answer to this treatment is forthcoming: It is - "the League is a power to be reckoned with". It has developed into a real fighting organization. Militants are advised by their superior tacticians as follows:

Prevent this isolation.

Do not allow militants to be driven by reactionaries into secession movements.

Demand reinstatement.

Go to the masses with their story - weapons of militants "Organization and publicity".

Expose to the masses - mass protest meetings, distribution of circulars, use of official journals.

Motto - Tell it to the rank and file.

Interpret these outrages as desperate expedients of a bankrupt bureaucracy at bay before a militant movement which it cannot meet successfully with arguments and counter-program.

The program of the TUUL touches so many vital spots, it should be known that they aim to oppose the American Legion and to outwardly change life in America. This resolution was adopted:

"Whereas, ever since its formation, the American Legion by breaking up peaceful meetings of working men, by opposition to strike movements, and by various other anti-labor activities, has given abundant evidence of hostility to the aims of trade unionism and of loyalty to the big employing interests which finance it so liberally.

"Resolved, that the TUUL's Second General Conference condemns and repudiates every movement or maneuver designed to develop an alliance between the A.F. of L. and the American Legion, and it calls upon all militants to defeat such efforts."

In direct contrast to this resolution, was another adopted, praising the World War Veterans, recognized officially as a part of the American

Communist organization for their "persistent picketing in uniform in front of the White House, in favor of the release of political prisoners", for their "militant sympathy with all strikers", that they have proved a "fearless bulwark" and have been a "powerful counter-irritant of the Ku Klux Klan and other forms of white terror". It was resolved to get in touch with National Headquarters of the World War Veterans and to actively participate in the organization of local posts in the trade unions.

Militants were urged to work in every convention to win trade unions in favor of the United States recognizing Russia. It was announced that already Left block committees were at work in the basic industries - railroad, coal mining, metal, food, building, printing, marine, transport, tobacco, clothing, leather and textile. All have printed programs and all are carrying on a systematic educational activity - "backbone of our movement".

The plan is to carry the fight to conventions of international unions and to arrange for frequent conferences of militant organizations. An Anti-Fascist Alliance has been organized in New York City.

A call has been made for transport workers of America to endorse the United Front of the Transport Workers for uniting all the transport workers of the world.

Foster, speaking before the Communist International as American delegate, stated: "Boring from within is the best and only method of conquest of American trade unions."

On September 25, 1924, a letter was sent out to all local secretaries, stating that on November 17th, the A.F. of L. convention was to take place at El Paso, Texas, and that it was absolutely essential to have a strong representation there, and copies of the following resolutions were enclosed to be changed in wording and distributed through the various labor organizations:

Resolution on

The American Legion
Nationalization of Mines and Railroads
Soviet Russia
Ku Klux Klan
Imperialism
Deportation of Workers
International Affiliation
Organize the Unorganized
Anti-Labor Legislation
Labor's Prisoners
Racial Discrimination
Unemployment
General Labor Congress
China.

On July 28th, 1926, at a meeting held at 108 E. 14th St., TUEL headquarters, New York City, and which was attended by [redacted] C.E. Ruthenberg, Charles Krumbein, [redacted] Ben Gold, Ben Gitlow, Jack Stachel, Albert Weisbord, [redacted] and [redacted] the decision was reached that a split should be made between the Workers(Communist)Party of America and the TUEL to slow down the antagonistic feeling among the trade union leaders. Orders from Moscow to this effect were introduced by a courier by name of [redacted], who came over the Canadian border. This split was of course to be only on the surface but secretly the TUEL was to remain a functioning body of the Workers(Communist)Party of America. b7C

This action was caused by the fact that the machinists organization had already issued orders for expulsion of all TUEL members and other trade organizations were following this lead.

* * * * *

Further information upon request.

N C P I A

COMMUNIST PLANS TO DESTROY THE BONAFIDE
TRADE UNION MOVEMENT, AS REPRESENTED BY
THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR
(RELEASED BY THE NCPIA) SATURDAY,
JULY 31ST, 1926

The above caption does not convey the extreme importance of the material contained in this report, nor does it signify that we hold any brief for the American Federation of Labor, but it does mean that the bonafide trade union movement exemplifies conservatism, when compared with Communist activities in this country and such conservatism is a bulwark to our continued industrial prosperity as a nation. The fight between the two forces is over the division of the "spoils" of office between the leaders of organized labor and the Communists and does not as yet, in large part, affect the rank and file of the bonafide trade unionists, but the "boring from within" hereafter portrayed is sucking the vitals of a once healthy movement that had within itself much to be admired, when it was being promoted on an orderly trade union basis.

The moot questions of "Are the Communists getting anywhere?" - "Have they intelligent leadership?" - "Is their 'boring from within' program succeeding?" - "Are their 'lessons in revolution' advancing the cause of Communism in the United States?" - can all best be answered by submitting a document that recently fell into our hands and which was signed by [REDACTED] a high official of the Workers (Communist) Party of America and which document was addressed to district organizers and City executive secretaries of the Workers (Communist) Party of America. b7C

Every manufacturer and executive that says "pooh-pooh", will not be convinced because he will refuse to read the evidence, and like the ostrich, will hide his head in the sand. He will answer the above questions with an emphatic "No". The student will say, "Perhaps there is something to it - let's study the question and if the answer is 'Yes', what can I do to negate such a dangerous movement?" We say the answers are all "Yes".

The document in itself is somewhat involved and will necessitate careful study, but if you are interested in the common weal of your own employes and the country at large, you will take the time to make this study, even though it entails missing a golf game or a board of directors' meeting.

You owe it to yourself, your employes, your community and your industry, to master the Communist plans hereinafter set forth.

(COMMISSIONER'S NOTES) Wm. Z. Foster is the guiding spirit of the Trade Union Educational League and second in importance in Communist circles in this country, being exceeded in authority only by C.F. Ruthenberg.

All underscorings appeared in the original document. Study and analyze the cleverness of the portions which contain double underscorings, these being ours. The first double underscoring on page 5 is camouflage and means that when talking in members from amongst your employes, they will deny that they are a Communist outfit.

The second double underscoring means that many new Workers' organizations with high sounding names will blossom out, none of them apparently of Communist origin.

The third double underscoring uses time as an asset to educate bonafide trade unionists to become class-conscious.

These are only a row of the clover maneuvers that will be practiced by the Communists in breaking up the American Federation of Labor and substituting their own Sovietized system of Workers' Councils.

If any particular part of the document is puzzling, this office will cheerfully clear it up to your entire satisfaction.

There is a legend in connection with the document and in order to simplify this, it is included just below:

LEGEND

C. E. C.-----Central Executive Committee
D. E. C.-----District Executive Committee
T. U. C.-----Trade Union Committee
T. U. E. L.-----Trade Union Educational League
Y. W. L.-----Young Workers League.

* * * * *

ORGANIZATION OF THE PARTY TRADE UNION WORK

I The CEC Trade Union Committee

General Functions. To elaborate the decisions of the Conventions and CEC of the Party dealing with the trade union work; to collect and elaborate material on the industrial life of the country; the economic condition of the working class, the economic struggles of the working class, the situation in and of the trade unions, etc.; to superintend the mobilization of the Party membership into the unions; to organize and give general guidance to the Party trade union fractions; to give general direction to the Trade Union Committee and industrial organizations in the District, City and Section Committee, and nuclei; to develop the main line of policy to be followed by the TUEL and other left wing formations in the trade unions; to supervise the publication of trade union left wing journals and pamphlets and to provide material for the same; to issue regular bulletins of information on Party policy to the trade union fractions and to the committees and organizers engaged in trade union work; to submit reports to the CEC and to receive reports from all fractions and district trade union committees on the progress of the work in the trade unions; to inform brother Communist Parties on the trade union work of our Party by means of reports and collaboration in the international press.

Organization. The CEC Trade Union Committee shall be organized as follows:

Secretary. The TUC secretary shall be responsible for the general application of the TUC decisions; call all meetings of the TUC; be a member of all sub-committees of the TUC; report regularly to the TUC and the CEC on the progress of the work. So far as practicable, meetings of the TUC shall be held weekly.

Fraction Secretary. The Fraction Secretary shall stimulate the mobilization of the Party membership into the unions; supervise the organization of the trade union fractions; maintain contact with all trade union fractions and give them the Party policies; issue a monthly bulletin of information and policy on trade union work to all the fractions and to the various committees and organizers engaged in trade union work; report regularly to the TUC.

Sub-Committees. The TUC shall have the following sub-committees:

- a) General Information; b) Left Wing Press; c) Latin America and Anti-Imperialism; d) Work Among Women, Negroes and the Youth;
- e) Committees for individual unions or groups of unions.

Into these TUC Sub-Committees shall be drawn leading comrades active in these respective spheres of Party work.

II District, Local and Nuclei Organization For Trade Union Work

General Functions and Organizations.

Districts. All District Executive Committees shall establish and maintain trade union committees of not less than five or more than eleven members. These members, as many as possible of whom shall be actually employed in industry, shall be drawn from the members belonging to and active in the most important unions in the headquarters city of the DFC's. These TUC's shall be organized into the necessary sub-committees. They shall meet regularly at stated periods, and shall submit regular detailed reports of their activity to the CEC-TUC and to their respective DFC's. They shall issue a bulletin of information and Party policy on trade union work to their respective fractions and nuclei. They shall supervise the general work of the local trade union fractions, subject to the necessary guidance of the CEC-TUC, their respective DFC's, and the national fractions in the respective unions. They shall also give general guidance to the local TUEL groups, subject to the general control of the CEC-TUC. The DFC's and their respective TUC's shall make it their special task to develop the initiative, vitality, and mass character of the local TUEL groups.

City Centrals, Sections and Sub-Sections. These organizations shall follow the same general lines of policy as outlined above for the DFC's except that, in cases where they are very small, they may have an industrial organizer instead of a trade union committee. In such cases the functions of the industrial organizer shall be essentially the same as those of a trade union committee, as outlined above.

Nuclei. The shop nuclei conduct all Party trade union work in their respective factories and work places. Each shop nucleus shall select an industrial organizer (or a trade union committee if the nucleus is large enough). The industrial organizer's principal duties shall be to supervise generally the trade union work in the factory; to mobilize the Party members into the trade unions and to make them active in trade union work; to attend to the distribution of left wing trade union journals; to make necessary financial collections for the TUEL and other left wing formations; to keep in close contact with the trade union committee of the next higher Party organ, and with the local trade union fractions and TUEL groups, covering his factory. The shop nuclei industrial organizers and trade union committees shall create definite groups of sympathizing elements among the non-Party trade unionists in their respective factories. The foregoing principles apply to the concentration groups and street nuclei, so far as their members are employed in the factories.

III Party Trade Union Fractions

General Functions. The Communist members of a trade union organization and its organ and left wing groups (committees, conferences, conventions, etc.) must unite into a fraction and carry on active fractional work. The Communist fractions work with all their energy to bring the majority of the trade union members under their influence. The more devotedly, practically and energetically they know how to heed the interests of these members, the better they understand how to defend proletarian interests in every way in all spheres, and on all occasions, and to link up the fight for the immediate tasks with the fight for the final aim of the working class, the more easily will they succeed in gaining this influence. This Communist work must be conducted within the framework of the statutes and decisions of the respective trade unions. The Party members must keep in mind that the fractions are not the foundation of the Party, and that therefore they can deal only with the questions of their respective field of activity. The Party Executive, through the TUC's determines the political and tactical line of the fractions, directs and instructs them, and controls their activities. The Party Executive shall not interfere unnecessarily in the daily work and should give the fractions all possible freedom of action and initiative. The fraction executives are obliged to give regular reports to the proper Party Executive, or to the proper department and higher fraction executive.

Organization. The general organizational principles to be applied in the formation of fractions are as follows:

Local. All Party members shall form fractions in their respective local unions and local TUEL groups. The fraction in a given local union and in the corresponding TUEL organization, shall be one body. This principle of combining the fractions in corresponding trade unions and TUEL organs shall be applied throughout the entire structures of the fractions.

District. Communist delegates to Central Labor Councils shall form themselves into fractions. Such fractions, in combination with the fractions in the leading organ of the local general TUEL groups, shall be the leading fractions of their respective cities. Communist delegates to District Councils of their respective trade unions shall form fractions and lead the fraction work locally in their trade, in combination with the corresponding TUEL fraction.

National. Fractions shall be formed in all congresses of the trade unions and TUEL. These shall be directed by the CEC-TUC.

In all executive committees of trade unions and TUEL groups, such as local unions, district councils, central labor councils, international unions, and TUEL local industrial, local general, national industrial and general national, the Communists shall form fractions, combining the fractions in the corresponding trade unions and TUEL groups. The Communist members in these trade unions and TUEL executives shall form the executives of their respective fractions; except that the competent Party organs and fractions have the right to appoint such additional members of fraction executives as to insure their proper working.

The Party fraction system shall be extended to all branches of the trade union movement, A.F. of L. and independent. Wherever practicable, Party fractions shall be established in company unions.

The fractions shall meet prior to trade union and TUEL group meetings. In the case of the TUEL, the fractions must avoid over-controlling its groups, as hereinafter pointed out.

There shall be no fraction dues charged. The fractions, however, shall give active support to such financial programs as it may be outlined by the TUEL for its maintenance and functioning.

Youth Fractions. The members of the YWL who belong to a trade union organization or the TUEL must join the corresponding Communist fraction, and participate in the fraction meetings. In addition, members of the YWL within the fractions shall be organized into youth fractions, which shall deal with the special questions of the young workers of the respective organizations. These youth fractions must have their own executives. The Communist youth fractions receive direct instructions from the proper executives on the one hand and from the Communist fraction executives of the respective trade union and TUEL group on the other. The Communist fraction executive and all the fraction members are obligated to support the activity of the youth comrades and constantly and systematically.

The CEC-TUC shall intensify the campaign for the formation of trade union fractions, holding the corresponding Party organs responsible for the building of the fractions.

The CEC-TUC fractions secretary shall, wherever necessary, draft plans for fraction organization to meet the special problems of the various industries and localities.

IV General Relations of Fractions and TUEL

At the present time the main strategical objective of our Party in its trade union work is the building and broadening out of the Trade Union Educational League into a mass left wing movement in the trade unions. The upbuilding and functioning of the Party trade union fractions shall constantly be subordinated and directed to this end. A special danger that must be guarded against is the tendency to prevent the growth of broad left wing organization by limiting left wing organizations simply to Party fractions. This liquidating tendency manifests itself under a variety of forms, among which are:

a) Direct Substitution of Party Fractions For TUEL Groups. This harmful practice is widespread. It must be checked at all costs. Every Party fraction must be categorically instructed to form a TUEL group and to work through it in the trade unions.

b) Ignoring of Existing TUEL Groups. This practice of fractions ignoring existing TUEL groups and going straight to the unions with their programs is akin to the foregoing. The rule shall be: Wherever there is a TUEL group, the Party fraction shall carry out the Party program of action in the union through the TUEL in all but the most exceptional circumstances where the TUEL does not act upon or rejects the Party policy; wherever there is no TUEL group, the Party fraction works directly in the union, but it shall be required to at once organize a TUEL group. The general work of building TUEL groups by the fractions shall be conducted by the TUEL nationally.

c) Insistence by the Fraction Upon Too Advanced Programs For the TUEL. This is a liquidating influence, as it repels non-revolutionary but "progressive" workers. The TUEL program, which is essentially the Party's program of action in the trade unions, must be simplified and concentrated around burning everyday issues in the class struggle. The fractions must not insist upon the TUEL groups adopting the full Communist trade union program. Those phases of the Party trade union program which cannot be adopted by the TUEL shall be put forth by the fractions in the trade unions and in the TUEL primarily in propaganda form.

d) Transference of Party Groupings, Discussions and Other Purely Party Matters From the Fractions Into the TUEL. It is vitally essential that the TUEL have the face of a non-Party organization. Hence the practice of carrying Party quarrels into the TUEL, and discussing purely Party matters there, must be discontinued. Such matters should not get beyond the scope of the fraction meetings. In the TUEL groups the Party members act as a unit. Palpable organizational connection of the TUEL groups with the Party, such as common journals, headquarters, etc., must be broken. The TUEL shall show the utmost flexibility in the adoption of names for its various local and national groupings.

e) Over-Control of TUEL Committees by Party Members. This harmful practice of flooding the TUEL leading organs with Party members to the exclusion of sympathetic non-Party elements, prevents the growth of the TUEL into a mass movement. It must be stopped, and the reverse practice emphasized, of enlisting reliable non-Party elements into various responsible positions in the TUEL.

f) Devitalizing TUEL Groups by the Fractions Transacting Beforehand All Left Wing Business Down to Smallest Details. The practice of the fractions settling all the business of the left wing before meetings of the TUEL groups is especially fatal to the growth of a mass left wing movement in the unions. It leaves the TUEL no real function and thus condemns it to sterility. In general, the functions of the fractions shall be to map out the main line of Communist Policy in the unions; they shall take a position in all very complicated and controversial questions. But the fractions shall not transact the routine and detail work of the left wing. All

this must be left to the TUEL groups. The fractions must strive to make the TUEL groups living bodies transacting vital business; they must seek to develop the initiative and interest of the non-Party elements. This cannot be done if the fraction members come into the TUEL groups with "rubber stamp" programs. The aim of the fractions must be to permit the TUEL groups freely to transact all possible left wing business compatible with the application of our Party program. The fractions must operate with a keen realization that they are not an end in themselves, and that the great task confronting them now is the building and broadening of the TUEL into a mass left wing in the trade unions.

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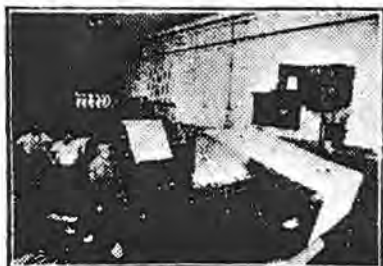
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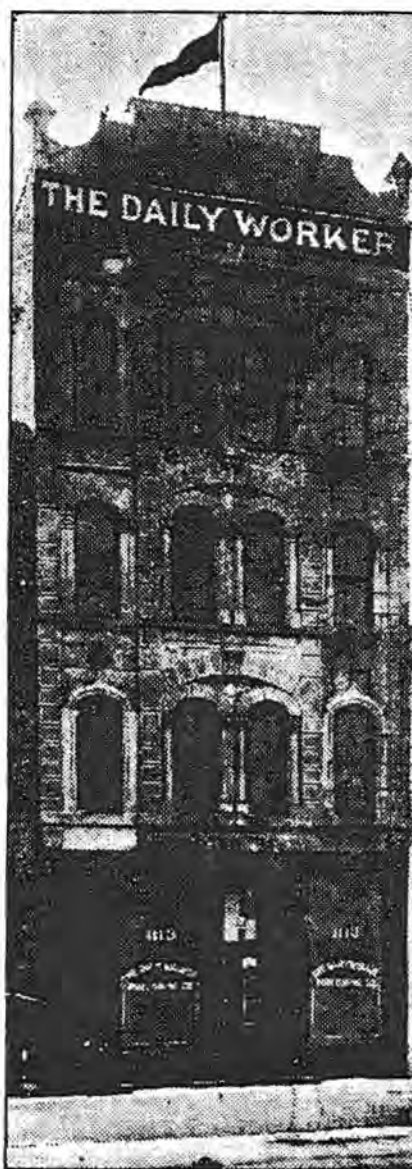
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Enthusiastic replies from scores of America's most illustrious citizens are flowing in.

I would appreciate it as a favor at your hands if, after reading the literature and scanning especially the "Purposes" of the ACF, you will then write Mr. Mitchell your candid reaction.

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- To give special attention to the instruction of native and foreign-born youth between the ages of 15 and 21 in the principles, duties and privileges of citizenship.
- To establish group study classes in citizenship in communities, clubs, schools, industries, etc.
- To provide instructors for such groups.
- To outline to young Americans the history of the United States and to supervise the study of the Constitution.
- To analyze for the Citizenship students the various departments of our government and show their relationship to each other.
- To develop the doctrine of mutuality of interest among our young citizens.
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- To reduce crime, and to inspire self-respect and encourage the building of sound bodies and sound minds among our boys and girls.
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- To encourage ethical and fair methods in public, business and social intercourse.
- To cultivate a better understanding between employer and employee.
- To raise the working efficiency of all classes by raising their standards of service.
- To teach the fundamental principles of economics, especially in relation to industry.
- To assist in selecting suitable occupations for the young citizen and provide the means for advancement through study courses.
- To teach that good citizenship inhibits partisan, religious, racial or sectional bias and animosities.
- To preach the development of loyalty, harmony and unity as the essence of good citizenship.
- To educate the citizen of tomorrow to think, to understand and to act intelligently.
- To establish a National Citizenship League of the Young Men and Women of the Nation as the defenders and upholders of good Citizenship and the honor of America.

"WE, the People of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America."

IF we are to continue to be fit, if we are to survive, the causes which menace our existence must be removed—not by force or violence—but by education. The responsibility for the continuation of our prosperity, for our future and wonderful promise, must rest upon those who have profited by the application of government and freedom as outlined in the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States. Self preservation will dictate to the banker, the capitalist, the industrial leader, that every citizen, native or foreign born, must be educated to know that good citizenship entails certain responsibilities and that those who accept and carry out these responsibilities will reap their just share of the rewards.

There are two immutable laws of nature — SELF PRESERVATION and THE SURVIVAL OF THE FITTEST. The first is a dominant instinct in every living thing, becoming at once an active principle in the face of actual or possible danger. The second is subject to various controls, dependent upon many factors—the accident of birth, the circumstances of raising, training, environment and mental physical capacity. As these factors become active and exert their influence, for or against, the individual or nation survives or perishes. But nature dictates that we must be fit or we cannot survive and in the struggle to obey nature's mandate our subconsciousness brings into action the natural law of SELF PRESERVATION.

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By indifference, the natural accompaniment of good fortune. By being the "melting pot" of the world into which is poured the blood of various nationalities who do not know, AND ARE NOT TAUGHT, the real meaning of our American idea of government and institutions.

By the insidious and vicious teachings of the radical, the fanatic and the irreconcilable.

By the industrial leader who has not learned that labor is entitled to its just share of that which it produces or that the value of a human being is in direct ratio to mental development, here this development must include a well defined understanding

THE EXPRESSED INTENT of the founders of our government was to constructively build—NOT TO DESTROY.

TO stimulate—NOT DEPRESS.

TO insure liberty—NOT TO ENSLAVE.

TO guarantee to every citizen a full measure of justice—NOT TO PERSECUTE.

TO inaugurate and perpetuate a political system derived from a government by a majority of the people —NOT A GOVERNMENT OF THE PEOPLE BY A POLITICAL MINORITY.

TO give to the American citizen, through his own government, the right to achieve and accumulate his earned share of the riches of this country and to help develop its resources, each according to his ability and capacity—NOT TO BELITTLE AND SMOTHER ACHIEVEMENT OR DEPRECIATE LEGITIMATE ACQUISITION—NOT RESTRICT NATURAL ABILITY OR LIMIT INHERENT CAPACITY.

It is through an understanding of, together with a patriotic adherence to these fundamental principles, that the United States has attained pre-eminence among the Nations of the world. It is only through a continued comprehension and a complete devotion to the Constitution that this country can carry on to the fulfillment of a glorious promise.

HUMAN ERROR AND EVIL ARE THE DIRECT RESULT OF A LACK OF UNDERSTANDING—AND UNDERSTANDING CAN ONLY BE OBTAINED IN THE HIGHEST DEGREE THROUGH EDUCATION.



*Good citizenship—a shield of protection
for our Flag and all that it represents*

and devotion to our present economic form of society and the Constitution of the United States. By any racial, religious or political difference which tends to engender hate, jealousy or intolerance.

Today—we are as a nation an exemplification of nature's law of the SURVIVAL OF THE FITTEST.

Regardless of the dollars and cents cost this education in citizenship must be carried on until it reaches every man, woman and child in this country—until every emigrant is taken in hand the day he lands and his education in good American citizenship commenced.

Our forefathers fought, bled and died to establish the Constitution, to give to us this country—it is not asking too much of those who have profited by their sacrifice and devotion to support the AMERICAN CITIZENSHIP FOUNDATION in the great and essential work for which it was conceived and organized.

May we request from you, a good American citizen, a full and free expression regarding our work and its influence upon the future of our country. A careful analysis will indicate to you why we have been led to entitle this message "SELF PRESERVATION."

American Citizenship Foundation

For The Board of Directors

John J. Mitchell, Jr.
646 Michigan Boulevard, North
Chicago, Ill.

NATIONAL CL

DUCTS INDUSTRIE

OCIATION

MBER OF COMMERCE BUILDING
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS
TELEPHONE DEARBORN 1946



GENERAL COUNSEL: GOOD, CHILDS, DODD & WESCOTT
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NATIONAL INDUSTRIAL CONFERENCE BOARD
CANTONVILLE, OHIO OFFICE
THE PROGRESS BANK BUILDING

October
Twelfth
1926

12

To Members and Friends:

"FOR A WORKERS AND FARMERS GOVERNMENT"

Sounds innocuous, doesn't it? But couple it with the sub-title "Program of the Workers Communist Party", etc., and it really means something that should make us stop, read and take heed.

This circular is so worded that the word "capitalist" cannot be misunderstood, as signifying government, for in that sense the word "capitalist" is always used by the American Communists.

The writer distinctly recalls that during the last Presidential election the printing and propaganda distribution machinery of the Red movement was so efficient that on several occasions the elapsed time for the distribution of a million pieces of their literature was twenty-four hours.

Enclosed herewith, you will find an exact simile of a direct order that the units of the Communist Party must distribute a million copies of their so-called "Congressional Program" (also enclosed) within one week.

The distribution on this occasion of this propaganda is to go direct to the workers in industry, distributed at factory gates.

We suggest that you read the planks of the Communists, embodied in the circular and if it appears at your shop, plant or place of business, post your key men how to meet and offset the questions that will arise in the minds of some workers, that this propaganda is far more dangerous than it at first glance appears.

In order to fortify you with the necessary arguments that your key men should make, we are enclosing pamphlet captioned "False Prophets of Socialism", which can be quickly read and absorbed.

Very truly yours,

COMMISSIONER
H. A. Jung

OCT 14 1926

62-12299-6
BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
OCT 14 1926
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
Div. Two
FILE

ENCLOSURE

62-12598-8

(COPY)

Congressional Program
Distribution Week
OCTOBER 10 to October 16
→ Distribute ONE MILLION Copies

September 20, 1926

To All Party Units

Dear Comrades:

The Congressional Program of the Party, which is now printed in leaflet form, expresses the revolutionary working class viewpoint on every important political question which is an issue in this country at the present time.

Our Party must spread this Congressional Program among the workers during the election campaign. We must take full advantage of the awakened political interest during the election campaign to carry on agitation to build a revolutionary movement of the workers. Our Party has not in the past, sufficiently utilized the elections for its revolutionary agitation. It must give more attention and more activity to the work of arousing the political consciousness of the workers thru utilization of the interest developed at election time.

The immediate work before the Party is to organize the distribution of ONE MILLION COPIES OF THE CONGRESSIONAL PROGRAM. Every nucleus, every sub-section, section, city and district committee must help to organize this work AND TO DISTRIBUTE THE PROGRAM. The week for the distribution is from October 10th to 16th. During that week, ONE MILLION COPIES must be placed in the hands of the workers.

The program should be distributed in the shops, in the trade unions, house to house, at meetings, wherever the workers gather.

The price of the program is \$3.50 per thousand. A copy is enclosed herewith. In the District Headquarters cities, the distribution should be organized thru the District Organizers. The nuclei should place their orders with the district office which will secure and deliver the leaflets to them. The nuclei outside of the District Headquarters should send their orders direct to the National Office. Remittance must accompany all orders.

The first week in October should see a million copies of the leaflets in the hands of the Party members for distribution.

Act immediately and do your part to distribute ONE MILLION COPIES OF THE PROGRAM.

Fraternally yours,

Max Bedacht

Agitprop Director

FOR A WORKERS AND FARMERS GOVERNMENT

Program of the Workers (Communist) Party in the 1926 Congressional Elections

The capitalist class of this country secured a continuation of its control of the government through the victory of Coolidge in the 1924 elections. It has used its power to strengthen its position as against the masses of workers and farmers, which it exploits, and to increase its profits at the expense of the standard of life of the workers and farmers.

The record of the past two years' activity by congress shows again, what has been proven in all past administrations, that the government, whether a republican or democratic administration is in power, is a government in the interests of the capitalist class and against the workers and farmers.

The only difference between the Coolidge administration and its predecessors of both old parties is that it shows more clearly the growing absolutism of the big capitalists and that it has more openly and aggressively aided the capitalist class in its exploitation of the workers and farmers.

The workers and farmers of this country can only win relief from the exploitation of the powerfully entrenched capitalists if they enter into a struggle against the capitalist domination and control of the government, wrench the governmental power from the control of the capitalists and establish a workers and farmers government which will use that power to abolish the exploitation by the capitalists and to create the conditions which will give the workers and farmers a higher standard of life.

The workers and farmers are natural allies in this struggle. They are fighting against the same enemy. They are exploited by the same capitalist class. They must unite their strength to establish, in place of the present capitalist government, a workers' and farmers' government.

Taxation and Tariff.

Congress has revised the income tax law and through this revision has relieved the capitalist multi-millionaires of the payment of hundreds of millions of dollars. The Coolidge administration manipulated the tariff on sugar so as to give higher profits to the sugar trust. The government maintains the high protective tariff for the benefit of the big corporations and trusts compelling the

workers and farmers to pay higher prices. In the after-war period, the capitalist countries generally find it necessary to build high protective tariff walls in the interests of their capitalists because of the sharp competition for markets. All the legislation and manipulation of taxation have been for the purpose of increasing the burdens on the workers and farmers and to create greater profits for the capitalists.

1. The Workers (Communist) Party proposes a struggle by the workers and farmers to increase the surtaxes on the incomes of the great corporations and multi-millionaire capitalists, for increase of the inheritance and gift taxes on the fortunes of the capitalists for downward revision of the tariff on the necessities used by the workers and farmers and a fight against manipulation of taxation and tariff which placed the burden on the workers and farmers.

Relief for the Farmers

The agricultural crisis which is driving millions of farmers from the land, bringing bankruptcy to other millions, increasing mortgages and tenant and which has made it impossible for millions of farmers to secure a decent livelihood from the soil, has its origin in the contradiction between highly developed mass machine production in industry and the less developed individual production upon the farms which exists under the capitalist system. We have monopoly and centralized production in industry with a dictatorship of the few over the many and unorganized and decentralized production in agriculture.

The crisis growing out of this fundamental contradiction is intensified by the bitter exploitation to which the farmer is subjected through the railroads, marketing organizations, food distribution trusts, bankers and so forth.

Congress has repeatedly defeated the McNary-Haugen bill which, although it is not a cure for the basic needs of the poor farmers and workers by itself be sufficient to improve radically the conditions, is a measure in the interests of certain sections of farmers, and was therefore defeated by the capitalist parties. The big capitalists who dominate the government and exploit the farmers as well as the workers are against relief measures for the farmers because the cost would come out of their swollen profits. The farmers must unite themselves with the workers to secure the enactment of the following measures for farm relief;

2. Immediate passage of legislation giving effect to the basic propositions of the McNary-Haugen bill and to other relief demands of the farmer organizations to include all sections of agriculture in need of relief. This to be supplemented by the immediate appropriation of a half billion dollars by the government to be used in establishing co-operative marketing organizations. The control of the use of this appropriation to be placed in the hands of the farmers' organizations democratically organized and free from the domination of capitalists, their agents or organizations. Reduction of the tariff on goods used by the farmers. Nationalization of railroads, elevators, super-power industry, food trusts, etc. A five-year moratorium on the debts of the farmers. The land to belong to the users.

Anti-Labor Legislation—Laws Against Foreign-Born Workers

Congress has been particularly active in the field of anti-labor legislation. The Watson-Parker bill which was passed by congress, through a series of boards of arbitration, investigation and mediation, practically denies the workers on the railroads the right to strike, and is an outstanding example of this legislation. Legislation is pending to extend this law to the coal industry. This is the entering wedge to rob the workers of their right to strike and thus to take from them an effective weapon in their struggle for a higher standard of life.

This law is against the interests of the masses of workers and in the interests of the capitalist exploiters and of the labor bureaucrats who are part of the capitalist machine. It represents an attempt to make labor an aid to the capitalists in securing higher rates.

The courts continue to use the injunction as a means of outlawing the workers' strikes for higher wages and better working conditions. Legislation is pending before congress to register, photograph and fingerprint every foreign-born worker in order to make these workers afraid to participate in the workers' struggle because of the danger of deportation, and thus making them accept lower wages and longer hours and reduce the standard of life of all the workers, native and foreign-born.

3. The workers must fight for the repeal of the Watson-Parker bill and against all similar legislation. They must fight for legislation outlawing the use of injunctions, police and soldiers in industrial disputes, and for laws against private detective agencies operating as spies and strikebreakers in industry. They must fight against the registration laws directed against the foreign-born worker.

Negro Equality

The government has taken no action to enforce the constitutional provisions granting political equality to the Negro, which are being flagrantly violated. The Negro suffers from racial discrimination of every kind and is subjected to "jim crow" laws and "jim crow" customs. The Negro is exploited as a worker or farmer. He is subjected to the same capitalist exploitation which the white

workers and farmers suffer from, but must bear the additional burden of racial discrimination.

4. The workers and farmers must fight for the repeal of all laws discriminating against the Negro and for complete political, industrial, educational—in a word, complete social equality for the Negro.

Fight Child Labor

The exploitation of children is one of the worst methods through which the capitalists amass profits. Through the exploitation of children the capitalists are able to reduce the wages and make worse the working conditions of the adult workers. The children of the workers are entitled to full educational opportunities and should not have their lives stunted through hard toil in their childhood.

5. The workers and farmers should fight for the enactment of a constitutional amendment against labor of children under 18 years of age and for legislation providing for government maintenance of all workers' and farmers' children to enable them to attend school up to that age.

Working Women

Capitalist industry and the capitalist government have systematically fought against the improvement of the position of women in industry and generally. Women in industry suffer from special exploitation through lower wages paid them. Capitalist society makes no provision to enable women to meet the incapacitation for work during the period before and after childbirth.

6. The workers and farmers must fight for government appropriation to pay wages to working women for a period of three months before and after childbirth; for a general forty-hour, five-day week without night work for women in industry; for the right of women to organize and against the use of injunctions. For equal rights for women, but against abolition of social legislation protecting women in industry.

Better Conditions for Government Employees

The government employees are paid low wages, denied the right to organize in real labor unions and subjected to many forms of discrimination and persecution.

7. The workers and farmers should fight for the right of all government employees to organization in unions and for their right to strike for better wages and working conditions. The government employees should be represented on all civil service commission and other bodies dealing with their wages and working conditions. Government employees should be paid wages equal to the highest trade union standards.

Free the Class War Prisoners

There are, in the prisons of the United States, scores of workers who have dared to challenge the right of the capitalists to exploit the workers and farmers and who have fought for a higher standard of life for the workers. Mooney has been in prison for ten years, although every one knows he is innocent of the crime he is charged with, and Sacco and Vanzetti are still in danger of losing their lives because of their fight for the workers.

Many other workers are serving long sentences under criminal syndicalist laws, because they expressed their ideas about capitalism.

8. The workers and farmers must fight for the freedom of these class war prisoners and for the repeal of all syndicalist and anti-sedition laws and for the unbridled freedom of speech, press and assembly.

Down with Militarism and Imperialism

The capitalists of this country have invested billions of dollars in foreign countries and are making great profits out of these investments. In order to secure the most favorable conditions for their investments, they have overthrown governments and set up their puppet rulers as in Haiti, Santo Domingo, Nicaragua and Cuba. They have established colonies and spheres of influence as in Porto Rico, the Philippines, Hawaii, Mexico and other Central and South American countries. The present campaign to tighten and perpetuate U. S. imperialist rule over the Philippine Islands, where rubber can be grown "under the American flag," is an effort to secure an American controlled source of this raw material. Three bills aimed at the liberty of the Filipino people are before congress. Similarly, the race for oil leads the government to indulge in constant assaults upon the sovereignty of Mexico. The American capitalists are attempting to dominate the governments of the European countries. They are carrying on imperialist exploitation in China. To back these imperialist adventures for their profits they saddle upon the workers and farmers in maintenance of a great army and navy and the expenditure of hundreds of millions of dollars for military purposes. All of this leads to a new world war with all its sacrifice and suffering for the workers and farmers.

9. The workers and farmers must fight for the immediate reduction of the army and navy and the abolition of the Citizens' Military Training Camps. Withdrawal of all American soldiers and marines from foreign territory. Immediate independence for the Philippine Islands and Porto Rico and the right of self-determination for all other American colonies. Non-interference in the affairs of Mexico, Cuba, Central and South American countries.

Nationalization of Industry

The unity of the capitalists and the government is proven more clearly than ever in the abandonment of even the appearance of a fight against the trusts and the great corporations by the government. The Sherman anti-trust law has become a dead-letter. The combination and consolidation of industry goes on, not only unhindered, but with the approval of the government.

The great monopolies which are developing on all sides in this country are means of establishing more bitter exploitation of the workers and farmers. The power to control and direct these great industrial monopolies, carries with it the power over the "life, liberty and happiness" of the workers

and farmers. This power cannot be left in the hands of the capitalists.

10. The workers and farmers must fight for the immediate nationalization of all large scale industries, including the railroads and super-power projects, and the establishment of the participation of the workers in the management and the workers' control. These industries must be operated for service and not for profit.

Prohibition

The 18th amendment and the Volstead act were supported by the big capitalist interests as measures to help create a working class which would be more efficient and could produce greater profits. These laws were also advocated by a group of people who believed that the recognized evils resulting from alcoholic liquors could be eliminated by prohibiting the use of such drinks.

The 18th Amendment and the Volstead act have resulted in building up the highly profitable bootlegging industry and in the creation of a great government machine of spies, provocateurs, prosecutors, courts, etc., aimed at enforcing an unenforceable law. This governmental machinery is also becoming part of the strikebreaking apparatus.

The liquor question cannot be solved by prohibition in a capitalist society. The excessive use of alcohol is an evil which can only be solved through education and the normalization of our lives which will come with the abolition of the profit system. A large part of the evils of the liquor business are traceable to its character as a highly profitable capitalist industry; prohibition is unenforceable in a capitalist society.

The workers and farmers must carry on a campaign against the evils of alcoholism within their ranks, but cannot support such methods of banning the liquor business as represented by the Volstead act and its results.

11. The Workers (Communist) Party favors the repeal of the Volstead act and the 18th amendment. It proposes the nationalization of the liquor business and sale only through drug stores and grocery stores. No saloons to be established. The profits to the government from the sale of liquor to be used in an educational campaign against the use of alcoholic liquors.

Unemployment

In many industries such as textile, mining, and the clothing industry there is widespread unemployment today. Periodically capitalist industry throws millions of workers out of jobs. Capitalist industry must be compelled to carry the burden of maintaining the unemployed workers out of the profits of the capitalists.

12. The workers and farmers must fight for legislation compelling the capitalists to pay wages to the workers to whom they cannot give employment, money to be raised through contributions to an unemployment fund out of the capitalists' profits, the fund to be administered by the trade unions.

The World Court and League of Nations

The world court and the league of nations are instruments of the great imperialist powers for carrying out their plundering of the lesser capitalist countries and for the division of the colonies, spheres of influence, etc. The great international banking houses of this country, such as Morgan & Co., have succeeded in having congress adopt legislation for our entry into the world court. They wish to make of the world court an instrument for the protection of the billions of dollars they have invested in foreign countries. While these American capitalists who are primarily interested in American industry are opposing the world court, they favor the Monroe Doctrine and the open door in China. They are for "international entanglements" when their economic interests are involved. The world court and the league of nations are directed particularly against the workers and farmers government of Russia.

13. The workers and farmers must fight for our withdrawal from the world court and against entry into the league of nations because these are instruments of the capitalists to carry out their imperialist schemes of exploitation. A workers and farmers government of the United States should join in an international association with other workers and farmers governments.

Recognize the Soviet Union

The workers and peasants of the Soviet Union have for nearly nine years maintained a government devoted to the interests of the workers and peasants. They have beaten off all the attacks of the capitalist powers. They are showing to the workers of the world that it is possible to create a new social order in which the exploitation and oppression of the capitalist system is abolished. They are building a social and economic system upon the basis of service and the highest possible standard of life for the producers of wealth—the workers and peasants.

The government refuses to recognize the Soviet Union and to establish regular relations with it because the Soviet Union is against the capitalists. The establishment of such relations would be an immediate benefit for the workers and farmers of this country because the Soviet Union needs the products of the American workers in building their new industrial system.

14. The workers and farmers should fight for the immediate unconditional recognition of the Soviet Union and the establishment of normal trade relations with that country.

The War Debts

The problem of the debts between the capitalist countries growing out of the world war cannot be solved by the capitalists. The debts cannot be paid without great danger to capitalism. Cancellation would mean a repudiation of the basic ideas of capitalism by the capitalists. For Europe to pay the United States the billions which it owes would mean the shipment of European goods to this country on a large scale and consequent stagnation for American industry. For Europe not to pay would be for America and give the European capitalist countries billions for big armies and navies and new war.

In funding these debts, the government has shown the directions where the capitalists lean by the particularly favorable terms granted to Mussolini's fascist dictatorship

in Italy. Even Belgium must pay more than Italy. It is because the American capitalists look to fascism as a means to fighting the workers and farmers in Europe, and eventually here, that they have treated Mussolini so well.

15. The Workers (Communist) Party declares that the settlement of the international debts is an insoluble problem for the capitalists. These debts can only be settled through the victory of the workers and farmers in the various capitalist countries and the cancellation of all international debts. The Workers (Communist) Party will fight against any attempts to place the burdens growing out of the debt funding by the American government upon the workers and farmers.

The Workers and Farmers Government

The Workers (Communist) Party calls upon all workers and farmers to unite in a struggle for the realization of the above program. Such a struggle can only be carried out and ultimately won if the workers leave the old capitalist parties—the republican and democratic parties—and enter a political struggle against the capitalists on the basis of their interests as economic classes and to establish a workers and farmers government.

The farmer-labor party, or the labor party in alliance with the farmers' organization is the present form which the united front political struggle of the workers and farmers against the capitalists should take. The Workers (Communist) Party calls upon the workers and farmers to support the farmer-labor party in all states and congressional districts in which such a united front ticket is on the ballot and to support the candidates of the Workers (Communist) Party in those states where no labor party or farmer-labor party exists. The Workers (Communist) Party will not place rival candidates in the field where a farmer-labor party or labor party has made nominations but will support the united front ticket (in Pennsylvania the labor party has placed republican candidates on its state ticket whom the workers should refuse to support, and vote for the Workers (Communist) Party state candidates).

The investigations of the senate committee investigating the recent primary elections in Pennsylvania and Illinois have shown the fraud and sham of the claim of democracy in government in this country. The capitalists spend millions of dollars to decide the elections. They buy and bribe candidates. Democracy under these conditions is a sham and a fraud.

While the election campaigns are a means to rally the workers and farmers to the support of the struggle for such a government, a workers and farmers government which will fight the battles of the workers and farmers against the capitalists, can only be established through revolutionary struggle against the capitalist class and the capitalist government.

It will be only through such a revolutionary struggle that the capitalist power over the government will be destroyed and a workers and farmers government established and relief secured for the workers and farmers from the evil which the capitalist system puts upon them.

FIGHT FOR THE WORKERS AND FARMERS PROGRAM IN THE CONGRESSIONAL ELECTIONS.

DOWN WITH THE CAPITALIST RULE. FORWARD TO THE WORKERS AND FARMERS GOVERNMENT.

Workers (Communist) Party,
Central Executive Committee,

C. E. RUTHENBERG, General Secretary

Join the Workers (Communist) Party

Every worker who is ready to support the principles in this program should join the organization which is fighting for them. For information about how to become a member, write to the

WORKERS (COMMUNIST) PARTY.

1113 West Washington Blvd.

Chicago, Ill.

False Prophets of Socialism

The Theories of Karl Marx,
Although Parroted by Modern
Socialists and Near Socialists,
Have Been Completely Discred-
ited by Events

By GEORGE B. LOCKWOOD

ISSUED BY THE
NATIONAL REPUBLIC
425 TENTH STREET, NORTHWEST
WASHINGTON, D. C.

The wage earner of seventy years ago who could be the owner of a horse and buggy was the exception. With nearly twenty million motor cars in operation in the United States the workingman who does not have an automobile is the exception rather than the rule. Yet Senator Sheppard tells us that the toiler is gradually sinking into pauperism, since the good old days when a farmer did well to handle a hundred dollars a year in real money, lived in a log cabin or inferior frame house, hauled his corn to mill to trade it for meal, rarely had a periodical in his home, would not have recognized a bath tub if he had seen one, worked from sunrise to dark, sent his children to a two-months' school clad in coarse homespun—for that was the condition of the large majority of farmers in that golden age before industrialism arose to meet the multiplied wants of an advancing civilization, through invention and large scale production made the satisfaction of these wants possible, and gave the American masses more comforts, luxuries, culture and opportunities than ever before came within the means of the every-day man in this or any other country in the world.

False Prophets of Socialism

Socialists attribute to the introduction of machinery and the rise of industrialism the beginning of human decadence. They point to the era of agriculture as the dominant occupation, and of individual workmanship, as one of greater economic independence. With the rise of manufacture and the performance by the individual workman of a specialized task they affirm the necessity of state ownership became increasingly apparent, because, they claim the ownership of the tools of industry by the individual worker is no longer possible except through state possession of these instrumentalities.

Senator Sheppard, of Texas, is not a member of the Socialist party, but he accepts the socialist theory that mankind has gone backward since farming and the small shop began to employ fewer people. "We have been transformed," he says "from a nation predominantly agricultural, with four-fifths of our people on farms, to a nation predominantly industrial and commercial with two-thirds the people in cities and towns and industrial districts, and with ownership of home and shop and implements rapidly disappearing, largely gone. * * * Thus the ownership and control of industry passed in the hands of a few masters whose wealth began to mount, with an astounding suddenness, into millions, tens of millions, hundreds of millions, while the laboring masses, reduced from proprietors to employees, followed by younger generations who were strangers to the sensation of ownership, thronged the factories to please

in desperate competition for the job that meant little more than a bare subsistence."

This is resounding rhetoric, but not a theory based upon the facts of history. That the economic status of the average man has vastly improved in this country during the past half century, and constantly, indeed, since the earliest years of the republic, is a truth sustained by every statistical study it is possible to make. Actually and relatively the wage earner, the farmer, the miner and every worker in whatever employment, is vastly better off than he was twenty years ago, fifty years ago, a hundred years ago. Moreover, he is better educated, enjoys a larger recognition of his rights and has infinitely more opportunities for himself and his children. If he is discontented it is because his advance has widened his horizon and increased his desires and ambitions. The "desperate competition for bare subsistence" is, as a generality, a figment of the imagination. There are many more lawyers than plasterers and bricklayers who are engaged in such a "desperate struggle for existence." The workmen in the oil fields of Texas have larger incomes, both actually and relatively, than were enjoyed by most professional men of the idyllic age before the Civil War which Senator Shepard portrays in such glowing colors. So far from it being true that riches are more and more being concentrated in the hands of the few, a striking feature of the national income tax returns is that during the past five years there has been a large decrease in the number of incomes of huge size and an immense increase in the number of smaller taxable incomes. The big aggregations of capital are not for the most part owned by a few people, but their ownership is diffused among hundreds of thousands.

Before the Civil War wage earners quite usually toiled twelve hours a day for a wage which represented no more than bare subsistence. Children were bound out to long-term apprenticeships which were little less than legal slavery. The smaller industrial plants of that day were lacking in arrangements for sanitation and comfort which are taken for granted today. One hundred years ago both workingmen and farmers were only a half century away from a condition akin to peasantry which had been inherited from the days when America was colonial Europe. In both North and South there was a caste system, with the workers in the lowest stratum of the social order. At Harvard University up to about a hundred years ago the names of graduates were printed "in the order of their social standing." Today the name of a workman's son will head the list if he has excelled in scholarship. Laws of tenancy, and all laws affecting the rights of "the common people" were vastly less favorable to the worker than they are today. There was imprisonment for debt. There were property qualifications for suffrage. The worker of today possesses rights, privileges and opportunities the workman of a hundred years ago would not have dreamed of.

The value of all farm property in the United States in 1830 was \$9,967,343,580; there were 1,449,073 farms of 293,560,614 acres. In 1920 we had 6,448,344 farms containing 955,883,715 acres; the value of all farm property was \$77,924,100,388. We had a little more than trebled the number of farm acres, and multiplied farm value by nineteen. From 1910 to 1920 our farm values increased from \$40,991,449,090 to \$77,924,100,388; during the same period farm mortgages increased from \$1,726,172,851 to \$4,003,767,192; for every dollar of increase in mortgages there was an increase in value of \$1.72.

crease of only eighteen dollars in values. Does this look like a decline of the farmer toward peasantry? The farmers of the United States in 1925 spent more money in the purchase, upkeep and operation of automobiles than they handled for all purposes in any year before the Civil War. While the farmer has been the chief sufferer from post-war deflation beginning in 1920, his balance sheet shows that his excess of assets over liabilities is now greater than in 1910, and this condition is steadily improving.

In 1830 we had in the savings banks of the United States 38,035 depositors, whose aggregate deposits were \$6,973,304; in 1924 we had 13,971,793 depositors, whose deposits aggregated \$8,439,855,000. In 1850 we had in the United States 29,407 life insurance policies in operation. In 1923 we had 83,974,542 policies in operation, 63,460,660 of which were industrial. The laboring masses who "plead for jobs" to afford them "the bare means of subsistence," seem to have had some time left to talk to insurance agents. In 1900 we had 1,495,136 members of building and loan associations, with aggregate deposits of \$571,366,628; in 1923 we had 7,202,880 such members, with aggregate deposits of \$3,942,939,880. Quite a few of the starving proletariat seem to be able to lay something by for a rainy day. And let it not be forgotten that during the last half century, so remarkably signalized not only by the accumulation but by the diffusion of wealth, we have absorbed fully twenty million aliens who came to our shores empty handed to share in the prosperity of America.

The wage earner of seventy years ago who could be the owner of a horse and buggy was the exception. With nearly twenty million motor cars in operation in

United States the workingman who does not have an automobile is the exception rather than the rule. Yet Senator Sheppard tells us that the toiler is gradually sinking into pauperism, since the good old days when a farmer did well to handle a hundred dollars a year in real money, lived in a log cabin or inferior frame house, hauled his corn to mill and traded it for meal, rarely had a periodic in his home, would not have recognized a bath tub if he had seen one, worked from sunrise to dark, sent his children to a two months' school clad in coarse homespun for that was the condition of the large majority of farmers in that golden age before industrialism arose to meet the multiplied wants of an advancing civilization through invention and large scale production made the satisfaction of these wants possible, and gave to the American masses more comforts, luxuries, culture and opportunities than ever before came within the means of the every day man in this any other country in the world.

This philosophy of socialism is powerful to turn back the hands of the clock of human progress. The world moves forward and Karl Marx is as much out of date as the hand-loom or the flail. Senator Sheppard has portrayed conditions as Karl Marx oracularly predicted they would come under industrialism—but the predictions of Marx have been as completely discredited as the declarations of the war acres at the court of Ferdinand and Isabella who said that Columbus, in crossing the Atlantic, would surely fall over the rim of the world. The predictions and theories of Karl Marx have been discredited not only in America, where the workingman has reached the highest level of ever attained by the toiler, but in Russia where the toiler under Marxian socialism has been reduced to poverty and slavery.

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MEMORANDUM ON
KIRBY PAGE -
H.A. JUNG - NOV. 29, 1926

Kirby Page was born in Tyler County, Texas, August 7, 1890, the son of James Andrew Thomas and Isabella (Pounds) Page. He received a B. A. at Drake University in 1915 and took graduate work at the University of Chicago, Columbia University and Union Theological Seminary. In 1914 he married Mary Alma Folse of Houston, Texas. He has two children. He was secretary of the Houston YMCA from 1908-11; student pastor at Monteith, Iowa, 1912-15; ordained as a minister of the Disciples of Christ, 1915; pastor of the Morgan Park Church, Chicago, 1915; did YMCA work in France and British Isles, 1916-17; traveled [redacted] in evangelistic campaigns among students in America, China, Japan and Korea, 1916-18; pastor of Ridgewood Church of Christ, New York City, 1918-21; engaged in lecturing and writing since 1921. He is an executive board member of the Fellowship for Christian Social Order; member of the Commission on International Justice and Goodwill of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America. He is the author of Something More, 1920; The Sword or the Cross, 1921; Christianity and Economic Problems, 1922; War - Its Causes and Consequences and Cure, 1923; The Abolition of War (with [redacted]) 1924; Imperialism and Nationalism, 1925; An American Peace Policy, 1925; pamphlets and magazine articles, etc. He is now editor of "The World Tomorrow", a radical publication, given to the support of pacifism and communistic propaganda. He has spent considerable time in Europe and Asia, studying international and economic problems. His home is in Palisade, N.J., and his offices are at 347 Madison Avenue, New York City. b7c

In his book "War", Page says: "Is it not supreme folly to say that a great war is the lesser of two evils? It is a combination of all the evils of contemporary life. There is no sin of man that is not intensified by war." In another place he says: "The war has created an appalling amount of hatred. For nearly ten years the creation of hatred has been one of the main tasks of governments. Hate has its uses in peace as well as in war and governments have not been slow to arouse it when their objectives could be furthered in that way."

What was known as the first official conference of church and synagogue was held at Olivet, Michigan, in August. Among those represented at this conference were the Central Conference of American Rabbis, the Fellowship for a Christian Social Order, the Committee on Goodwill between Jews and Christians of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ and the Midwest Council for Social Discussion. Four themes were discussed, a week being given to each, viz., Economic-Industrial, International, Racial and Family Relations. [redacted] and Kirby Page were the leaders of this conference. Reinhold Niebuhr was chairman for the first three weeks [redacted] b7c

On page 44 of "The Abolition of War", the following paragraph appears:

"In the last war a few score of genuine conscientious objectors went to prison for their faith. It is only fair to tell the government frankly in advance that in the next war, not a few score, but many thousands will gladly go to prison or to death rather than take any destructive part in what they believe, with the Federal Council of Churches, is the world's chief collective sin."

As will be noted in this paragraph, Page and [redacted] are very considerate of the government. It is said that the pamphlet "The Abolition of War" has been sent out to 125,000 clergymen. Accompanying this pamphlet, the

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following plans formulated by Page, was distributed:

"Let the churches of America say to their government and to the peoples of the earth: We feel so certain that war is now unChristian, futile and suicidal, that we renounce completely the whole war system. We will never again sanction or participate in any war. We will not allow our pulpits and class rooms to be used as recruiting stations. We will not again give our financial or moral support to any war. We will see security and justice in other ways."

He is a member of the council (term expiring this year) of the Fellowship of Reconciliation. This organization was gotten up by a group in the American Civil Liberties Union. It is one of the beneficiaries of the infamous Garland Fund. It is Communist-controlled.

He was a member of the [redacted] "unofficial" delegation to Soviet Russia, which has recently returned and is now bombarding the country with propaganda in the form of lectures and magazine articles in support of a pro-Soviet movement to advance the cause of recognition of Russia. b7C

The following paragraph appears in a letter sent out by the Fellowship for a Christian Social Order:

"The Circulating Library has been used by a very considerable number of our members. The new list enclosed herewith includes a very excellent collection on Russia which Kirby Page gathered during the summer and one on Family Relations which we hope may be widely used."

Another paragraph states:

"The pamphlet department continues to function vigorously and the office has handled a large correspondence in its efforts to be of service in every way possible to members of the Fellowship and in keeping in touch with the local Fellowship groups."

[redacted] of the National Committee; Kirby Page is Chairman of the Executive Committee and [redacted] is [redacted] of this organization. b7C

Paragraph four of a pamphlet "Statement of Principles" of the Fellowship for a Christian Social Order, reads as follows:

"We must, therefore, endeavor to transform such unChristian attitudes and practices as now hinder fellows: extravagant luxury for some while others live in poverty and want; excessive concentration of power and privilege as a result of vast wealth in the hands of a few; monopoly of natural resources for private gain; autocratic control of industry by any group; production for individual profit rather than for social use and service; arrogance and antagonism of classes, nations and races; war, the final denial of brotherhood." (underscoring mine) Production for social use and service is the principle and practice of the Russian Soviet government.

At a meeting of the Massachusetts Committee on Military Training in Schools and Colleges, which was held at the Twentieth Century Club in Boston, copies of the October issue of "The World Tomorrow" were distributed gratis. These were paid for and furnished by [redacted], Kirby Page and [redacted]. b7C

"The World Tomorrow" is offering prizes amounting to five hundred dollars for the best articles written on the subject, "What Youth is Thinking". The judges of this contest are Kirby Page, Emily Greene Balch, [redacted].

[redacted] The winning essays will be printed in the January issue. This was announced by circulars, and accompanying these circulars was a pamphlet entitled, "A National Peace Department" by Kirby Page, which is propaganda urging the organization of such a department in the United States Government. b7C

He is also a member of the executive committee of the Committee on Militarism in Education along with such well known radicals as [redacted] Norman Thomas, Wilbur K. Thomas and [redacted].

in the October issue of "The World Tomorrow", Page, in an article entitled, "The Menace of Military Preparedness" states:

"The chief danger of military preparedness is not that it tends to brutalize men and make them aggressive and blood-thirsty. The supreme menace is found in a combination of two facts: First, efficient preparation for war cannot be carried on in modern democracies unless a certain type of public opinion is created; and second, it is precisely this certain type of public opinion which leads to hostilities between nations. In other words, military preparedness is a primary cause of war."

He then summarizes his evidence under four heads: military preparedness creates suspicion, fear and hatred of other peoples; military preparedness tends to accentuate the menace of irresponsible nationalism; military preparedness increases confidence in the efficacy of physical force and violence and decreases confidence in non-military means of maintaining security and justice; military preparedness leads to colossal waste of money and manpower.

Page, like many others of his ilk, is hiding behind a cloak of religion to further his pacifist projects. Wherever the name of Kirby Page appears, there also appears the names of radicals of varying degrees of "pinkness" and "redness", some openly supporting and furthering communistic propaganda and others doing the same thing sneakily. He is also able to exert influence over his audiences by reason of the fact that he was connected with the YMCA for many years. We also find this organization coming under the influence of men like [redacted] and Page, and aligning themselves with organizations such as the Federal Council of Churches which is frankly pro-labor and pacifist and numbers among its prominent members, men who are pronounced "Reds".

Page is now touring the country lecturing on pacifism and against all forms of military preparedness.

He appeared before the "Chicago Forum" at the Erlanger Theatre in Chicago, Monday afternoon, November 29, 1926. "The Daily Worker", official organ of the Workers (Communist) Party of America, under date of November 30, in an article captioned: "Kirby Page, When Questioned by His Audience Brings Out Points Favorable to Soviet Government", quotes Page as saying:

"Balancing the evils of the Bolshevik government against the good, I feel that the good far outweighs the evil. I believe that the present government of the Soviets is far better than that of any of the Czars and that the great majority of the Russian people would say so."

The article ends with:

"When at five o'clock the flood of questions was stopped by the [redacted] who called time, the affair had evolved into quite a pro-Soviet gathering."

It is significant that "The Daily Worker" never lauds or quotes lectures unless they are propagandizing in favor of the Communist program.

Page again lectured before the Friday morning "Forum" at Abraham Lincoln Centre (a social centre located at Oakwood Blvd. and Langley Ave., Chicago) on Friday morning, December 3rd, 1926.

Here he reiterated the statements quoted in "The Daily Worker". He also stated in answer to a question on war, that he was an "absolute pacifist" and believed there was always a third alternative to choose, rather than war.

Being questioned on recognition of Russia, he stated that this country should most certainly recognize Russia - that every other large nation had already accorded recognition. His questioner pointed out that Secretary of State Hughes, in his letter of December 16, 1923, had answered Chicherin, Peoples Commissar for Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Government, and stated that whenever Russia repealed her decrees repudiating Russia's obligations to this country, restored confiscated property of American citizens and stopped propagandizing in the United States against the institutions in this country; that the United States might consider entering into negotiation for recognition, but until that time, the American government did not propose to barter away its principles. Page said he was thoroughly familiar with all that but the United States should confer with Russia regarding this debt, as U.S. conferred with all other nations regarding debts - why not Russia?

MEMORANDUM ON THE
YOUTH MOVEMENT -
NCPIA - WEDNESDAY,
OCTOBER 20TH, 1926.

The Youth Movement of today is probably the most dangerous of the subversive movements. Its object is to implant the theories and teachings of communism, socialism and pacifism in the untutored, undeveloped minds of Youth before they reach the age of mature judgment. Zinoviev, in a speech before the Enlarged Executive Committee of the Communist International, in June, 1923, said: "The Youth Movement is the best section of the Communist International and that is as it should be, because they are the heralds of the future." This adequately expresses the importance of "The Youth Movement" in the leading subversive organization of the world. This movement is said to be of German origin, but since the Russian revolution has been Communist-controlled, branches have been organized in most of the civilized countries of the world under various names, but all of them are either directly or indirectly connected with the Communist organization.

The American branch of the Red Sport International of Moscow, Russia, was organized in New York on Sunday, March 23rd, 1924. This meeting was attended by a carefully selected group of Communists from foreign federations. The direct Moscow order for the organization of this group reads as follows:

"American Comrades - It is your duty to start organization of a Workers' Athletic League, which will be controlled by the mother branch in Moscow. You must do something to convert the mass of American youth to your side. The capitalists control them with athletics now. Why not follow the capitalists and win them to our cause? In 1918, during Finland's civil war, sports clubs which were controlled by the Workers were the first to step to the side of the barricades and fight for the working class. This shows how valuable this movement is to us. The future belongs to the youth. Get busy in this line."

The most prominent of the American organizations are:

The Pioneer Youth
The Young Workers' League of America
The Young Peoples Socialist League (known as the Ypsils)
Fellowship of Reconciliation
Fellowship of Christian Social Order
League for Industrial Democracy
Fellowship of Youth for Peace
Urban League
Women's International League for Peace and Freedom - Department for
The Youth Movement.

These organizations are Communist-controlled, either directly or by way of interlocking directorates. There are a multitude of smaller organizations in churches, schools and colleges, such as:

International YMCA, New York City
World's Student Christian Federation, New York City
Corda Fratres Association of Cosmopolitan Clubs of America, Minneapolis, Minn.
Intercollegiate Cosmopolitan Clubs of New York City
The International Students Assembly, New York City
Intercollegiate Press Association, Yellow Springs, Colo.
Young Women's Christian Association
National Student Forum, New York City
National Student Volunteer Union, Denver, Colo.
Baptist Young People

the Congregational Young People
National Conference of Methodist Students.

The League for Industrial Democracy has been very active in organizing "student centers" in various schools and colleges, and in January, 1925, claimed such centers in the following institutions:

Barnard College	Laves College
Brown University	Bryn Mawr College
University of California	University of Chicago
Clark University	Colorado College
Columbia College	Dartmouth College
University of Denver	Eden Seminary
Garrett Biblical Institute	George Washington University
Goucher College	Karline University
Harvard University	Hobart College
Illinois State Normal	International Y.M.C.S. College
Johns Hopkins University	Kansas City Junior College
University of Kansas	Mills College
University of Minnesota	Montana State College
Northwestern University	New York University
North Dakota Agricultural	Occidental College
Ohio State University	Ohio University
University of Oregon	University of Pennsylvania
College of Puget Sound	Reed College
University of Southern California	Southwestern College
Spokane College	Stanford University
Syracuse	University of Toronto
Union Theological Seminary	University of Utah
Vassar College	University of Washington
Washburn College	Villamette University
University of Wisconsin	University of Wyoming.

These "studentscenters" appear under many names, such as:

Barnard Social Science Club
Bryn Mawr Liberal Club
Liberal Club of the University of Chicago
Stanford University Forum.

These clubs are nothing more or less than breeding places of radicalism.

A specific case can be cited in a series of lectures under the auspices of the Liberal Club of the University of Chicago, which were given in August of this year (1926). The speakers and their subjects were as follows:

Robert Minor, Artist, and Editor of the Workers Monthly (Communist), former editor of the Liberator, on "Is Russia Going Back to Capitalism?"

Oliver Carlson, on "Industrial Developments Since the Revolution".

William Z. Foster, Workers (Communist) Party leader and general secretary of the Trades Union Educational League (Communist) on, "Russian Workers and Workshops in 1923".

Max Shactman, member of the National Executive Committee of the Young Workers' League, on "The Youth Movement".

Harrison George, Editor of The Daily Worker (official organ of the Workers (Communist) Party of America), on "The Press and Publishing in Russia".

Dr. Karl F.M. Sandberg, on "The Financial System of Russia".

William F. Dunne, Editor of The Daily Worker, on "Russian Foreign Relations".

J.G. Ohlso, Ph. D. of the Amtorg Trading Corporation (Official Russian Trade Representative in the United States), on "Education in Russia".

Carl Haessler, Managing Editor of the Federated Press (Communist), on "Russian Interpretations of American Problems".

Dr. M. Sahud, on "Health and Scientific Research in Russia".

The speakers for these lectures were, with the exception of Dr. Sandberg, who is a socialist, all Communists of note. Most of these names appear every day in the Communist papers and correspondence. Through these channels the propaganda of the Communists is spread far and wide among the youth of the country, filling their minds with radical filth, instead of constructive ideas.

C.E. Ruthenberg, General Secretary of the Workers (Communist) Party of America, in a recent statement said: "No Communist party is worthy of that name unless it has a great Communist youth movement, even several times greater than its own size. In this country, we view with alarm the comparative weakness of the Young Workers' League (Communist) and realize that in a large measure this weakness is due to the lack of support that the party has given to this work."

The Pioneer Youth, a beneficiary of the Garland Fund, is an organization of youngsters usually headed by an older person, where every attention is paid the teaching of Socialistic and Communistic doctrines. The organization is designed to prevent the boys joining the Boy Scouts and the girls the Girl Scouts, because in both of these organizations, national loyalty and patriotism are taught, and it is these two sentiments both Socialists and Communists must destroy before they can hope to gain strength. Undoubtedly Edwin Hoernle's "Manual for Leaders of Children's Groups" is the text book used for these organization. Excerpts from these are:

"We Communists assert that the child must be enrolled as a fighter in the struggle of its class....Respect for the adult is one of the first things to be removed in Communist education....The Communist groups must show the children how to convert secret hatred and pent up anger into a conscious struggle... against military school discipline...for the right of the children to establish their own system of discipline, for the abolition of rigid curriculum. Let us rid ourselves of all pacifist nonsense and sentimentality. The ultimate victory of the proletariat depends even more upon the soldiers who will fight its battles than upon the politicians and theorists who will discuss its issues. The Red Army needs women fighters as well as men."

The greatest danger is from the insidiousness of The Youth Movement. Youths join organizations in churches, clubs, etc. These organizations are camouflaged with innocent sounding names. The children join them. Before long their minds begin to take hold of the Communist teachings and they reach out for more knowledge. They absorb it rapidly because freedom from restraint and conventions is the keynote of the teachings and naturally finds a sympathetic chord in children. The aftermath is a young person advocating destruction of their government, and the breaking down of all social and civil law. A striking example of the development of Communists through university liberal clubs is to be found in Albert Weisbord, the young Communist leader in the Communist incited Passaic textile strike. Weisbord is a graduate of Harvard University. As a result of this radical development at college, he immediately associated himself with the Communist movement and became the leader of this strike under Communist backing. He is now one of the most prominent intellectual members of the Workers (Communist) Party of America.

The Young Pioneers and the Pioneer Youth of America are two separate organizations. The Young Pioneers is the official children's organization of the Young Workers' (Communist) League of America. The "Young Comrade" is the official organ of the Young Pioneers and is published monthly.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

b7c

Executive Committee

Jack Stachel

Patrick J. Toohey

The Pioneer Youth of America, organized in 1924 in New York City, has the endorsement and support of 700,000 misled trade union members. In the following list of officers and executive committee, appear names of prominent radicals known to be closely associated with the leading subversive movements in America, if not actually members of the Workers(Communist)Party of America.

Subway and Tunnel Constructors'

International Union

1st Vice President - A. J. Muste, Brookwood Labor College

National Women's Trade Union League

International Ladies' Garment Workers

Fed. Local 1264E, American Federation

of Labor.

Executive Committee

Dr. B. W. Barkas, Philadelphia Labor College

Brotherhood Railway Carmen

Columbia University

Louis F. Budenz, Labor Age

International Ladies' Garment Workers

Philadelphia Council United Textile Workers

American Federation of Teachers

International Brotherhood of Firemen & Oilers

United Brotherhood of Carpenters & Joiners

Dr. Wm. H. Kilpatrick, Columbia University

International Association of Machinists

Machinists' Auxiliary

Henry R. Linville, Teachers' Union

Rand School of Social Science

James H. Maurer, Pennsylvania Federation of Labor

International Fur Workers' Union

International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers

Rose Schneiderman, Women's Trade Union League

International Ladies' Garment Workers

Union Theological Seminary

Norman Thomas, League for Industrial Democracy

Printing Pressmen No. 51

New York Building Trades Council

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COMMISSIONER'S NOTE: Further and specific information in detail, on request.

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REPORT OF THE DISTRICT ORGANIZER
ACTIVITY OF THE DISTRICT OR-
GANIZER FOR PERIOD ENDING
JANUARY 1, 1937.

To The District Executive Committee,
Workers (Communist) Party,
District No. 10.

Dear Comrades:

As we start into the new year, I feel that a report covering our general activities might be of assistance to the Committee and the membership in general, in solving the problems confronting the District for the year that is before us.

Few who have not studied the size of District No. 10 have any conception of the task confronting the District Committee and the District Organizer. We are supposed to cover the Western half of Missouri, Kansas, Nebraska, Iowa, Montana, Wyoming, Colorado, New Mexico, Texas, Idaho and Oklahoma. This amount of territory is an empire within itself. When we first entered the district, Utah, Nevada and Arizona were also included in this district. These states are now a part of the California District Organization. Utah was joined to California by request. Arizona and Nevada, on recommendation of the District Executive Committee of District No. 10.

The size of the territory we must cover, brings with it the opportunity we most desire, to build to revolutionary movement. With this opportunity comes responsibility, and needless to say some sacrifice, on the part of all who assist in building in these far away fields. Since receiving the assignment as District Organizer, I have covered more than seven thousand miles in travel. The trip carried me into Kansas, Iowa, Nebraska, Colorado, New Mexico, Arizona, Texas and Oklahoma, and was made in a "Ford" with the following results: - Six new branches were organized, and more than fifty members were drawn into the party organization. A sub-district convention has been called to meet in Ft. Worth, Texas, February 12th and 13th, in order to consolidate the work that has been started in these two states. We have formed City Central Committees in Omaha and Sioux City. The importance of our work is in the fact that the new organizations formed are in a section of the United States, where we were never before able to progress further than to have a few scattering members at large.

We are now organized in Tulsa and Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, and in Breckenridge, Ft. Worth and Houston, as well as Galveston, Texas. In these two states, we are soon to have a sub-district committee in action. Aside from these points that are organized, we have been able to increase our membership, through letter writing. Since entering on our duties as District Organizer, our membership in the district has a little more than doubled in number. This showing should be better, and the desire is that it must improve with each month of the new year.

Our organized groups are slow to realize the importance of building the membership, or at least, we have been unable to realize any substantial increase in membership, as a result of the activity of party groups. It is true that a few have been drawn into the party through our groups, but in no such numbers as there should be. We should lift the slogan "Get a Member", and our drive for members should be so intensified that we will double our membership again in the next six months. THIS CAN BE DONE.

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We are now receiving calls for organizational work in Montana and Wyoming. These places are so far away that expense prevents an immediate trip into that section. We recommend, however, a visit to both Wyoming and Montana in the early spring. It is quite evident that many can be drawn into the Party organization by personal contact, when they cannot be reached in any other way. Our trip through Southern Colorado brought us face to face with the need of an organizer in that section who can speak the So. Slavic language, such an organizer should be accompanied by the District Organizer. This matter of Southern Colorado has been taken up with the Executive Secretary, and the assurance has been given that some action will be taken.

I am convinced that several hundred new members can be brought into the party organization by a trip through Southern Colorado, Wyoming and Montana. With such a substantial increase, it can readily be seen that the problem of district support will be solved.

THE YOUTH MOVEMENT

It is to the discredit of the District that more has not been accomplished in the Youth Movement. Increased activity must be taken along this line at once. In Denver, Kansas City and Hanna, Wyoming, good constructive work is being done, but other points in the district are far behind. In this connection, I recommend that the district executive committee consider some plans, whereby a representative of the Young Workers League can tour the district, and since Comrade [redacted] is doing such splendid work in this connection, I recommend that he be used, if his services are available. Comrade [redacted] efforts should be directed in a wider field than Kansas City, Kansas.

MUST BROADEN OUR WORK:

Insofar as our efforts have been made to draw into the party any appreciable number of the native born workers, they have failed. We must find some way to make contact with those who, up until this time, are far removed from us, and who constitute that material that must be woven into the revolutionary movement. Our Trade Union activity must be increased, and our work for a Labor Party backed by renewed energy. Our work among women has been almost completely neglected. Denver is the only place in the district where efforts are being made that count.

THE DAILY WORKER

The drive to save The Daily Worker has been a success. We may justly take pride in the efforts made by the membership to meet this crisis in the life of the Daily. Just what amount has been collected on the quota, we do not at this time know. We are positive, however, that when the coupon books are all in, we will be over the top, with our 100 per cent. The Coupon Books should be settled for at once, so as to have this matter out of the way for other work.

THE NEEDS OF THE DISTRICT

Our future work will not be retarded by the lack of finances. Substantial support must be given the District Organizer. The small voluntary assessment is not being paid with any degree of regularity. This alone will not meet the needs of the District Office. On January 1st, the support given this district by the National Office was discontinued. We are expected to stand alone. We are therefore up against the question of increased expense for the District Office. I therefore request that the District Executive Committee formulate some plan by which the income of the District Office can be increased to meet the increased expenses.

With the increase in membership that is coming into the Party, we will soon reach the point where our load will be lighter. I am sure the membership realizes the importance of immediate action, and will respond readily to a call from the District Executive Committee.

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It is my firm conviction that the expenditure of two thousand dollars in the work of organization would make the District self-supporting and it will become a source of revenue to the National Office.

LABOR PARTY

While much constructive work has been done to form a Labor Party, our efforts should, and must be renewed along this line. In Missouri, our forces are all but inactive, and the field is ripe for action. Iowa is being neglected, and at this time the farmers of that state are restless and complaining. In Colorado, our Comrades did splendid work along this line, but were greatly handicapped by the leaders of different labor groups. Failing to get a united front, they did the only thing that could be done - named a Workers (Communist) Party ticket in the state election. In Oklahoma, good work was done, but we are inactive there at this time. Movements are under way in Texas and Montana that will result in much activity, and will, we hope, bring about the desired result -- a Labor Party.

I am

Yours for the Revolution,

STANLEY J. CLARK

District Organizer #10

MEETING AT FORD HALL, BOSTON, MASS.
IN COMMEMORATION OF THE THIRD ANNIVERSARY OF THE DEATH OF LENIN HELD
UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE WORKERS
(COMMUNIST) PARTY OF AMERICA,
THURSDAY, JANUARY 20TH, 1929.

The principal speaker was James P. Cannon (Communist) of Chicago. About twelve hundred people were present, only two of them being Americans. The Lenin calendar, printed on red paper and having the horrible face of Lenin on it, was hung on the pulpit under the portrait of [REDACTED] b7C

James P. Cannon spoke first:

"Lenin is dead but Leninism is alive today. It's alive in China and it was Lenin first of all who said that Leninism would rise in China. The Lenin flag flies all over China today. Leninism was alive in the British Coal Strike. Leninism is alive in Nicaragua. Leninism is alive in Mexico. All you need to do is to read the capitalist press to find out whether Leninism is alive in Mexico. Ye know it without reading the capitalist press. There may not be as much of it as Kellogg says but there is some of it and Kellogg is correct. If there are not a hundred thousand Communists now, there will be very soon. Lenin is alive in the New York labor movement - oh yes, Lenin is alive in sleepy old Boston though you may not know it. Lenin's life should be held up as a model to the world. It was Lenin who was the guide of Sacco and Vanzetti. When you see the best spirits of our labor movement imprisoned then you see who are following Lenin. Lenin belonged to the revolutionary socialist movement. He was the leader and teacher of a world-wide revolutionary movement. Lenin was the prophet of the dictatorship of the proletariat in their fight against imperialistic exploitation. It was he who said that the labor movement should always ally themselves with the poor farmers. The alliance of workers with peasantry is Lenin's teaching. Lenin taught us that in backward countries and in colonial countries the millions of exploited people must be the allies of the working people in advanced countries to help fight world-wide capitalism. We see that in Nicaragua and Mexico today. It is the policy of the proletariat of advanced countries to combine with the peoples of exploited countries. Big capitalist power would find it hard to exist without colonies. The capitalist world is led by Mr. Coolidge and the United States. Against them is Leninism and Soviet Russia and this is the struggle today. They are struggling for world domination. In Russia they say you capitalists are out of it, we, the proletariat are in possession. The newspapers in America pour out propaganda against the workers. In Russia it is quite the opposite. They are printed for the workers. Schools are tremendous laboratories in Russia where the youth can be educated without any knowledge of the poison of capitalists according to the ideas of socialism. Yes, in Russia there is an army, a big army, it is to protect the labor movement and to defend the revolution. Russia is building a great union of countries. Russia is growing towards socialism. Lenin's party was built up on masses of revolutionary proletariat. Soviet Russia does not stand alone. It is the leader of exploited and colonial countries of the world in their fight against imperialism.

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"It is different in America. Function of U.S. Government is to beat down working class. This movement in industry in the United States does not belong to us yet. The Federation of Labor is a slave pen. The workers lead miserable, unhappy and uneducated lives. The newspapers are only machines for the capitalists. The military forces, and the jails and the judges are all in the interest of the employers class. In this struggle is Lenin in Russia, opposed to him is Coolidge and the U.S.A. Coolidge and Wall Street would enslave the workers, of millions of peoples for years to come. That is America's aim led by Mr. Coolidge. In Russia the aim of this other world force is to organize working classes of the world with uprisings and revolutions all over the world, in China, in Mexico, in Nicaragua and in India. The aim is to overturn the present system and get control. The United States was once the star of hope for the oppressed of the world but it has grown rich. It's a capital hierarchy - it is the mortgager of Europe - it dominates South America. It is reaching out for further domination and enslaving of people. The policy of America is well defined in Scott Nearing's book, "Dollar Diplomacy". Everything represented by the President of the United States and its Secretary of State and its military forces, is for the enrichment of Wall Street bankers. There is nothing humanitarian about America. It is the creditor of Europe. America has influence in China, it has money there. Wall Street is reinforced by warships.

"There is exploitation in China and in Latin America. The monster of American imperialism has encroached upon weaker countries. Wall Street has gone in with an iron fist to enslave people. In Nicaragua and in Mexico all the noble tradition of America has been thrown away. This government is a sinister shadow there. It is a sinister shadow to all the people south of the Rio Grande River. America's aims are to destroy all independence by military force to set up puppet officers and to make vassals for Wall Street bankers. There is an absolute identity between the exploitation of the people here and the people of Mexico and Nicaragua, and we must support them. Take out the warships in Nicaragua, we say, support China's revolution. Let money sharks go and do the fighting. We shall stay home and wish the Nicaraguan people good luck. Imperialism makes labor turn to capitalism. Men like Gross, Gompers and Well are the aristocracy of the workers. When a fellow gets fifteen thousand dollars a year, that makes a capitalist out of him. That bunch plays in with the capitalist. The revolutionists and Communists created the Passaic strike. The fight of the New York fur workers is a class struggle. Communists are the spark which will illumine the flame which will lighten up all the workers in America.

"Can the labor crowd kill the Communists in the labor movement? Can they lose the idea of the class struggle? They are the bearers of the idea. The Communists will remain in the labor movement and lead them to victory over the bourgeois. Lenin knew what to do in the days before the revolution came. Lenin said, 'If we learn how to carry out the small things, we can at last carry out the big things.'

"In these pioneer years we must organize the unorganized in trade unions. But we have a task here near at home, our comrades are in prison, - our comrades Sacco and Vanzetti. They are in prison for our cause, don't forget that. I do not mean to tear down the prisons, that would be premature. They will be useful for us to use in the revolution. We will put the bourgeois in them and turn the tables. (He quotes [redacted] who said 'the master shall then drop the whip and the slave shall then become the master'). This depends upon us militants. We do not fight in one city alone, we combine the forces of the world against world imperialism. Lenin taught us how. We belong to millions of people. We are working today in China, we are working today with the British coal miners; we are working today in Soviet Russia; we are working today everywhere. Our time will come, America will topple. Our work will bear fruit. We, on this third anniversary of Lenin's death, take up his teachings. Today belongs to capitalism, tomorrow belongs to us."

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A Jewish youth of 13 years of age, living in Roxbury and attending the Roxbury Public School, made remarks to this effect: "We must destroy the Boy and Girl Scouts, they are working for the capitalists. We must not obey our teacher. We must not obey our bosses." Pointing his finger at the audience, "Are you going to bring your children up to obey the teacher and the bosses? We are told in school to salute the American Flag. This we must refuse to do."

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Dear Editor:

Allow me to express in your paper my view on the international situation which has recently become so complicated that quite a number of people have no idea what position to take, some of them even permitting themselves to fall under the hypnotic spell of the sob-sisters' howlings about the "little brother across the border" and the poor innocent Bolsheviks who are being blamed for all the troubles of the human race.

The sob-sisters' chorus refrain is: "Calles is not a Bolshevik!" But what of it? Neither was Kerensky, the first idol of liberated Russia, a Bolshevik. Yet he it was who paved the way (even against his will) for the triumph of the Red Dictatorship. So does Calles (also possibly not of his own conscious will). He is really the unconscious tool of the Bolsheviks who will yet dispose of him (as they disposed of Kerensky) in due season.

The worst feature in the whole situation is that it is at present obscured by a number of subsidiary issues, like the religious (Catholic) controversy. But intelligent people must admit that ours is not an age of religious struggle, but rather of political and social conflicts. The international issue in regard to Mexico, at least in so far as the United States is concerned, has got nothing to do with any of the religious policies of Mexico. The whole problem lies in the world orientation of Mexico politically and socially. For this is the age of World-Revolution and Anti-Revolution, of a life-and-death conflict between Individualism and Communism, between Dictatorship and Democracy, between Orderly Civilization and Barbaric Chaos.

Just as in 1914, all nations of the earth were aligned on two opposite sides between the Triple Alliance and the Entente Cordial, so in a few more years the world will be again divided into two hostile camps; On the one side, Soviet Russia will lead all the forces of Chaos; on the other side, the United States will rally around it all the forces of Civilization. Sooner or later, Mexico will have to make a final choice between Moscow and Washington. At present Mexico's orientation is distinctly in the direction of Moscow.

Such is the real crux of the problem. If Mexico desires to be a part of Civilization, she must turn decidedly away from Moscow. For no one can deny that it is the avowed purpose of Soviet Russia to convert Mexico into a base of operations against the United States which, being the most powerful non-Communist country, is the chief stumbling block for Moscow's plan of World-Revolution.

To make the problem clearer, let us take a look into China. What is now going on in that far-distant country? A lot of naive people imagine that they are having there just a plain national-liberating movement, something akin to our own liberation from Britain. But that is not so, or rather there is much more to the Chinese puzzle. Much more. Stalin, Bolshevik boss of Russia, very recently announced (at the last session of the Chinese Section of the Communist International) that the Chinese revolution is not merely a national revolution, but is essentially (outside of being anti-imperialist and in that sense national) a workers' and peasants' revolution and as such it is an integral part of the World-Revolution. And Stalin certainly knows a lot more than all the sob-sisters of America. He does know because it is his men who are directing the so-called national movement in China in accordance with a well-elaborated plan of International uprisings.

If Stalin's testimony is not enough, I shall cite a verbatim statement from the speech delivered recently at Northwest Hall, Chicago, Ill., by Sze Tao Chan, Commissioner of Education in the Canton Government, who has been appointed by the Central Cantonese Government to represent it on a special mission in the United States. I quote from a stenographic report printed in The Daily Worker, of December 15, 1926. The statement is as follows: "Our chief concern now is the World-Revolution of which the Chinese revolution is only a part!"

Is not this conclusive evidence that the Chinese people, though themselves unaware of it to a large extent, are at present being utilized as tools in the Red Hand of Moscow?

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But the same situation is already beginning to crystallize in Mexico. There too, Moscow is busy preparing cannon-fodder for the World-Revolution which shall shatter and annihilate modern civilization. More unconsciously than consciously, Calles (like Kerensky) is tending in that direction. His expulsion of foreign capital is like the anti-foreign movement in China and his expropriation of foreign property is the first finger that he is extending to the Red Devil who will soon grab not only his hand but will swallow him up body and soul.

As a former official of the Russian Soviet Government and a member of the Press-Bureau of the Communist International, I have had some opportunities to observe the Mexicans in Russia (I even went out of Russia together with a certain Mexican agent who, like myself, was dispatched by the Communist International). They usually came to Russia empty-handed, but went out loaded with gold and revolutionary literature. To me as one who has been for seven years affiliated with the Communist movement, the situation is absolutely clear. Calles is being led by the Bolsheviki on a string which they will (as they have done with all their half-way allies, like the Left Social-Revolutionists and Anarchists) later twist into a rope around his neck.

I believe that in the present emergency it is the duty of every citizen to adhere to the traditional policy of the American people, namely to stand squarely back of the government in all its dealings with foreign nations.

Sincerely,

Clip
Sheet

These sheets serve simply to indicate something of the diversity of matter published weekly and are intended as a clip sheet for newspapers. Every issue contains 60 to 70 pages of reading matter, of which these sheets are a fair sample.

Manufacturers Record

Exponent of America



\$6.50 per Year.
Single Copy, 20 Cents.

Baltimore, Md.
JANUARY 20, 1927

Reprinted from MANUFACTURERS RECORD

\$170,000,000 Spent and Being Spent on the Mississippi Gulf Coast.

Long before the Civil War, in a marvelous presentation of the need of an Isthmian canal, Commodore Matthew F. Maury, "the Pathfinder of the Seas" and one of the greatest scientists America ever produced, wrote:

"Break down the barriers which separate the Atlantic and the Pacific and the currents of the world's traffic will be changed and the commerce of the world will center in the Gulf of Mexico."

A few months ago the Review of Reviews, editorially referring to the South, said:

"Certainly the South today is recognized the nation over as the new 'Land of Opportunity.' The place of the South on the map of the world ought to make it the heart of industry and civilization. America has just discovered the real South—a potential of industry that is coming into its own with tremendous strides."

Commodore Maury's predictions are being fulfilled. The Gulf of Mexico is beginning to take its destined position as the center of world commerce.

From time to time we have published some facts about the building of railroads, highways, bridges, and other improvements along the Gulf coast. In Alabama, Georgia, Florida, and Louisiana, for example, we have given you a glimpse of what is being done along the Mississippi Gulf Coast alone, where in the last few years \$100,000,000 has been spent in different activities, and where \$70,000,000 is now being expended.

Moreover, this does not include what is going on in the Gulf region of Florida, Louisiana or Alabama; vast railroad interests are centering in the Gulf coasts of these States. Nor does this estimate include the \$10,000,000 port improvements at Mobile, nor the \$2,000,000 bridge across the bay at Mobile, nor the \$5,500,000 bridge across Lake Pontchartrain at New Orleans, nor the many other millions being spent by railroads, municipalities, counties and States along this whole stretch of Gulf coast from Florida to Texas. Through that entire Gulf region there is a development of such far-reaching importance of such vastness of expenditure as fully to match the wonderful industrial development stretching from the Piedmont region of Virginia on through the central South out to Oklahoma, Arkansas and Texas.

The attention of the country has been more largely centered on this industrial activity than upon the great construction work that is under way along the whole Gulf coast, which is now beginning to visualize the fulfillment of Maury's forecast that with an Isthmian canal breaking down the barriers between the Atlantic and the Pacific the world's commerce and trade will center in the Gulf of Mexico.

[FROM MANUFACTURERS RECORD]

Nicaraguan and Mexican Situation in the Light of Position Taken by President Coolidge and Secretary Kellogg.

THERE are many who do not believe in the Bolshevik "Terror." They ridicule it, they say that Secretary Kellogg is the victim of nightmares and they assert that he is guilty of "indecent intellectual exposure" when he produces documents to show that Moscow is active in Central America. A merchant prince in Moscow was equally incredulous, and at his dinner table one night he derided the fears of his guests. But before noon of the following day the limbs of this merchant prince had been torn from his body and "the Chaos" was upon Russia.

Overcautiousness is not a fault when one is guarding the very citadel of civilization. When millions are being spent in organized effort to subvert the Governments of the world, it is time to be careful.

In the Washington Star of January 15 Paul V. Collins states, on indisputable authority, that the Bolshevik agents have expended in excess of \$24,000,000 on propaganda in the United States, and he gives verbatim the secret plan whereby this propaganda is spread. We quote it:

"RULES.

"In the domain of international politics:

"1. To investigate, aid and abet chauvinistic movements and international conflicts generally.

"(Under that rule, why should not Mme. Kollantay be active in the Mexico-Nicaragua affair? Why else was she a Communist diplomat, sent to Mexico and received by President Calles?)

"2. To provoke agitation at home and abroad in order to induce international conflicts.

"3. To assassinate or make attempts upon Ambassadors of foreign Governments at all capitals (sic).

"4. To compromise influential men in all countries by public scandal, blackmail, bribery, information to prosecuting attorneys and perjured testimony (sic); to make attempts upon the life of men in Government authority (sic), and thereby foment political disturbances, riots and destructive agitation against established order abroad.

"(a) By methods 1, 2, 3 and 4, to instigate, aid and abet revolution and civil war, and to bring about the seizure of power, the seizure of power, the seizure of power.

"5. To foment and incite strikes, sabotage, and, to that end, disseminate provocative and incendiary literature.

"6. To provoke and incite railway strikes, blow up bridges, railways and canals, and to disorganize transport generally.

"7. To impede and prevent the provisioning of cities and towns, create financial panic, and exchange operations against currencies and flood the world markets with damaged bank notes.

"(b) By methods 5, 6 and 7, to cause economic confusion, industrial upheavals and social unrest; to precipitate the collapse of the body politic and to obtain the sympathy and active support of the proletariat for Bolshevik coups d'etat and seizure of supreme power.

"In the domain of military affairs:

"8. To corrupt the rank and file of the Army and Navy; to discipline, esprit de corps and morale, and ultimately

enlisted personnel will adopt and support the Bolshevik propaganda.

"The organization of the world is as follows:

"I. (a) Central Europe division, (b) Scandinavian division, (c) Balkan division, (d) Latin division, (e) Great Britain division.

"II. Special group secretariat:

"(f) British-American colonial division: 20, South Africa; 21, Australia and New Zealand; 22, Canada.

"(g) North American division: 23, United States; 24, Mexico.

"(h) South American division: 25, Brazil; 26, Argentina.

"Other divisions cover Asia."

No wonder decent men find it difficult to take seriously so unspeakable a program of destruction. But it is a program that was carried out in Russia! It is a program that has all but wrecked Britain, which only by a hair's breadth actually escaped revolution last May and where a devastating coal strike, superinduced by Soviet propaganda and bribery, has almost bankrupted the industries of the country.

What the world has paid and what it will pay for Lenin is beyond conjecture. His gospel of hate and destruction has made a shambles of peaceful China. His incendiaries are at their heinous work in all parts of the globe. There is no field they do not cultivate. They sought to organize the negroes of the South and they did get their grip on the garment trades in New York. Wherever there is the smallest flame of discontent they nurse it into a conflagration. They are the universal enemy.

The Administration has convinced itself that Sacasa, in Nicaragua, is the tool of the Bolsheviks. Having so convinced itself, there was no other course for it to take. Nor is it at all to be presumed that the permanent staff in the Department of State suddenly lost every sense of balance. The way to kill a snake is to kill it.

We need not concern ourselves too much about the relative propriety of the Sacasa and the Diaz claims to the Presidency of Nicaragua. We are not intervening to set up a faction in authority. Our aim is broader than that, far broader. What this Nicaraguan situation demands is to force the enunciation of a new American doctrine, and no more important doctrine since Monroe gave being

What is this policy which will be known as the Kellogg or the Coolidge Doctrine? It is:

In the territory north of the Panama Canal the United States will tolerate no Government that is not acceptable to itself. It does not recognize as complete and absolute the sovereignty of any Central American Republic. It issues its fiat that its own interests are such as to necessitate an overlordship in all that part of this hemisphere, and it will maintain that overlordship, if requisite, by force of arms.

The President has not stated it in those blunt terms. There is a certain smugness in official conversation, but Mr. Coolidge has made a statement from between the lines of which the real American policy leaps out. He says: "The stability, the prosperity and independence of all Central American countries can never be a matter of indifference to us." It may be said there is nothing new in that. For decades we have been asserting our peculiar interests in Central America. But it is new, just the same, because it means that it has

right of veto over any Government that may be established in Central America.

This is not merely an extension of the Monroe Doctrine. It stands as a fiat by itself. The Monroe Doctrine is negative in character. It undertakes merely to prevent European colonization of territory on this hemisphere. The Kellogg purpose is entirely different. It passes from the negative to the positive position. "It is not enough," our Government says, in substance, "that Central American Governments should be free from European influence. They must, in addition, be subservient to the influence of the United States. They must be so conducted as to safeguard the interests of the United States."

There ought to be no subterfuge about this. It is beneath the dignity of the United States to resort to subterfuge. The country is entitled to know the Kellogg policy for what it is, and to give its verdict uninfluenced by extraneous issues. It is our hypocrisy rather than our policy that goads our neighbors to fury and exposes us to scorn.

We think the sober thought of the American people will endorse this Kellogg doctrine, despite the fact that there are many features of it which must be distasteful. Central America has been another Balkans. Every country there boasts men of high education, men of great refinement, families of distinction. Contests for power have chiefly been between great families. The peoples themselves have been mere pawns in the game. To a peculiar degree, Central America has been the habitat of soldiers of fortune, of adventurers in Government, of palace revolutions. Governmentally, it has been a disease-stricken region. We cannot ignore that fact any more than we could ignore an epidemic of yellow fever in that part of the world.

We do not subscribe to the theory that a people, having taken possession of a part of the globe, are forever entitled to do there as they will. It is a theory that our forefathers ignored when they took this continent from the Indians. A nation has no more right to misbehave itself with menace to its neighbors than has an individual. International law or no international law, that immeasurably higher law, the law of progress, will operate to overcome obstructive conditions. It happened so in Cuba, and it always will so happen. We may not like it, just as some of us do not like the laws of nature, but the laws operate just the same.

That the interests of the United States are paramount in Central America is an obvious fact. It is equally obvious that no local situation, no matter what its character, will be permitted to endanger that paramountcy. Were it a question of dollars and cents of statistics and economics, there would be no argument to be made. Our interest in Central America is of a more vital form. Our interest in Central America is of a more vital form. Our interest in Central America is of a more vital form.

We do not propose to, nor need we, interfere with the Latin American culture. We do not propose to influence the local governing systems in any shape or manner. We simply demand that these small countries, because of their geographical condition, maintain Governments that are friendly to us and would not use their positions to advantage our enemies in case of war. That means little to them; it is vital to us. We do not propose to cram our civilization down these people's throats, or to force them to be progressive, or to compel them to buy our goods. We ask them only, being at our gates, not to be enemies; and we are going to see to it that they are not officially.

If such a policy be imperialism, then never will there be a great nation that is not imperialistic. It is one thing to go into the far corners of the earth and seize lands for exploitation. It is another to see that small countries in our immediate locality are not to be points of succor for our enemies.

It is disagreeable for the President, no doubt, and for this nation to have to take this position. We could all prefer

that our safety were not involved by the actions of Central America. But we are not so timid but that we can do what we have to do, whether we like it or not. Sentimentalism is sometimes the twin sister of calamity.

The tense situation which has so rapidly developed emphasizes the utter folly of unpreparedness. The world has not freed itself of war. The price of safety is now, as it has always been, the ability to protect one's self. Progress has been made in conciliation and arbitration, it is true, but war continues to threaten. The strength of idealism is multiplied when there are soldiers to back it. Both of the national services have been starved, as if the terrible lesson of the great war had never been taught. It is testified that our Navy is below par and the Army is in just as bad shape. Congress should remedy the situation at this session, economy or no economy.

To those who are talking blithely of war with Mexico, we say beware. There is no good cause for war. There will be no war unless our leaders blunder frightfully, and if they do they will be summoned to account. It may be that Mr. Coolidge by taking a firm stand has minimized the danger of armed conflict. It is weakness, never strength, that invites attack.

That there are some influences in this country which would gladly urge us on to war with Mexico cannot be questioned. In many devious ways they will try to misrepresent Mexico and to create in this country entirely false impressions as to Mexico and Mexican people. But we reiterate we do not believe that any of the questions at issue will justify war with Mexico. It may perhaps need all the firmness of the President and his advisers to stem the effort in this country to create hatred of Mexico and to avoid the possibility of war with our next-door neighbor between whom and this country there should be the closest friendship and co-operation.

War with Mexico by the United States would be the crime of the age. We in our great strength can afford to accept arbitration for friendly negotiations. We ought to negotiate treaties with all these countries, by which they would agree for protection of the Panama Canal and to our right to build the Nicaraguan Canal, as vital to them as to us. With such negotiations or treaties friendly policies could be inaugurated for the good of all Central America, Mexico and the United States alike, and that would mean for the good of the world.

THE DANGER OF BOLSHEVISM, AS SEEN BY PRESIDENT GREEN OF THE AMERICAN LABOR.

RECORD]

The danger of bolshevism is very clearly seen by the officials of the American Federation of Labor. They know that it is not merely a theory or a scare crow, but a definite danger which this country and the world faces. President William Green of the American Federation of Labor, in an address at Tampa on January 14, gave a warning to the nation of this danger, pointing out that bolshevism had tried to worm its way into the Federation of Labor with a view to dominating that organization and gradually dominating this country. In his address Mr. Green said:

"If these agents from Moscow find a foothold within our ranks, the cause for which Mr. Gompers gave his life will perish. If they find a foothold within our ranks, the organization will totter. We officers of the ranks of labor and our members are in closer contact with the Communists than is capital. We can feel its insidious workings. Therefore the American Federation of Labor has challenged Moscow to fight it out with us in the front-line trenches and measure proposal with proposal and offer with offer, because we know we can overcome their propaganda with the fact

that the American workingman enjoys privileges and benefits to be found nowhere else on the face of the earth."

Referring to the labor conditions in New York, with special reference to the strike of the fur workers, Mr. Green said:

"When we investigated conditions in the greatest city in the world we found them shocking. These forces from Moscow have centered their attack upon discontented workers in all lines of industry. That particular union is composed of men and women who came from foreign shores to make their living. It was a fertile field for the Bolshevik. But the American Federation of Labor will never cease its war against the Russian propagandist until every Communist who has gained a foothold within our ranks is driven out and every agent of the Soviet, seeking to destroy the cause of labor, is driven from our shores."

In further discussion of this situation in New York, with reference to the report he had received that the officers of the Federation would be asked to present to the Grand Jury the evidence in their possession, Mr. Green said: "We intend to co-operate with the authorities to the fullest extent. Our records will be open to all interested parties so that these charges can be given the most thorough investigation."

Much more on the same subject of the danger of bolshevism forcing its way into the labor interests of this country and thus endangering our nation was presented by Mr. Green. He is not an alarmist. He knows the inside working of bolshevism in America probably better than any business man in the country, and perhaps better even than the Government itself. And yet what he says largely sustains and backs up the position taken by the President and Secretary Kellogg as to the danger of bolshevism in its attempt of world conquest by Red revolutionaries of the most desperate character. Russia and China are illustrations of the Satanic influence and power of bolshevism. England and Central Europe, alike, have suffered from it. Blind indeed must be the American who does not realize the seriousness of the fight that is being made by bolshevism for world domination.

ONE REASON WHY COTTON ACREAGE IS NOT REDUCED.

[FROM MANUFACTURERS RECORD]

IN studying the question of reduction of cotton acreage there is one factor which has not been given full consideration. It is this: There are many large landowners living in the towns and cities of the South who have no other way of utilizing their land. They are not prepared to handle diverse farm products. They know nothing about them. Whatever return they get in the shape of cotton is that much paid as a matter of rent for their land. If the land goes uncultivated, it is to them a dead asset, yielding no revenue.

Bankers and town men generally throughout the entire South own in the aggregate millions of acres of land—cultivated on the share system, the tenant paying as rent a proportion of the crop produced. They cannot put this land into corn or wheat or vegetables or hogs. They do not want these things and would not know how to handle them. But they know exactly what a bale of cotton means whether the price be high or low; and every bale of cotton they receive for land thus rented to tenants is an income which they get from their investment.

It would be in the power of landowners of this kind to reduce the acreage in cotton. But will they do it? Will they let their land lie fallow merely because there is a demand for reduced acreage in order to secure higher prices? The tenant farmer may not get enough out of his crop to pay the

of cotton he receives, gets some rate of interest on his investment in land.

There has been much talk for many years about reduced acreage; many plans have been advanced; many conventions have been held, all proposing a lessened acreage in cotton; but rarely ever has this work been successful. The cotton grower goes on increasing his acreage and sometimes, as this year, Nature gives a larger yield than the average, and this added to the increased planting results in a crop beyond the immediate needs of the world. The problem of producing a crop equal only to the world's requirements and, therefore, bringing a good price is a many-sided one. It is not as easy of solution as some have thought, for agitation in favor of reduced acreage does not produce the desired result. If a man has a thousand acres of cotton land, with tenants enough to cultivate it, it is hardly feasible to say to him that he must reduce that acreage and let much of his land bring in no returns whatever, unless he was absolutely certain that every other landowner would reduce his acreage and thus a smaller crop would bring him a larger return, offsetting the idle land.

Many plans have been suggested, but none has yet produced the desired result.

A BANKER'S DENUNCIATION OF BRANCH BANKING.

[FROM MANUFACTURERS RECORD]

ANDREW JAY FRAME, chairman of the board of the Waukesha National Bank, Waukesha, Wis., one of the most ardent opponents in the country of the branch banking system, writing in regard to some articles recently published in this paper, said:

"The stand of the MANUFACTURERS RECORD on the branch bank question is so eminently sound and so disregards the fallacies, and I will add sophistry, of those whose inordinate selfishness overrides their sense of justice of the Golden Rule that it is cheering to see a publication that has the courage of its convictions and stands for that which is for the highest and best interest of the nation at large. I care more for what history says, which indicates that monopolization is creeping upon the progressive world little by little. The rights of individuals are being crushed, and later the people will arise in their power and restore American freedom, which has produced such great prosperity to this nation. Fallacies and sophistry will be wiped from the map when the Augean stables become so corrupt that honest men will call for relief.

"Thank you for calling my attention to your splendid articles and those two of Guy M. Walker. I plead alone for the welfare of the nation in the light of that sense."

A Conscience.

[FROM MANUFACTURERS RECORD]

In an address delivered before the Southeast Shippers Advisory Board at New Orleans recently P. E. Odell, vice-president and general manager of the Gulf, Mobile and Northern Railroad, related the following as evidence of the interest which the company's employees are taking in the business:

"We had an engineer a few days ago who did \$265 worth of damage to some equipment. After taking water he backed into his train because the smoke came down and he didn't see the red light. There was some overtime made on that train, and in checking up to see whether the engineer was right or not, we found that he didn't put in a ticket. And when asked about it he said, 'Come down to the cab of my engine.' He had a little book there, which read: 'Joe Liddell, in account with the Gulf, Mobile and Northern Railroad, damage to equipment, \$265. Credit to overtime, \$8.10.' Now, he says, 'When this credit amount is paid I'm going to close the book and put in my ticket.'"

[FROM MANUFACTURERS RECORD]

Failure of United States Department of Agriculture to Recognize Florida As an Agricultural State.

By G. M. RANDALL, M. D., Director, Agricultural Bureau, Daytona Beach Chamber of Commerce.

The United States Department of Agriculture is without doubt the most important department of our Federal system. It has a larger personnel of employes, direct and indirect, than any other two departments combined, not omitting the Army and Navy. It deals very efficiently with the most important industry of the civilized world. The statistics and data published in bound volumes, in pamphlets, bulletins and released for publication in newspapers, are more widely read, because of their general interest and source, than any other publications of any department of our Government.

As an example of the industry it deals with, we are told in the Agricultural Year Book for the year 1924-5 that the agricultural products of the United States for 1924 were over \$12,000,000,000. By a careful perusal of all the Year Books of the department for the past 20 years, which the writer has at hand, almost no allusion to Florida is found. Crop data is omitted. Stock data is omitted. Meteorological data is omitted. Articles on methods of procedure in various agricultural operations are omitted.

We are not jealous of any State or section because they are given space and publicity; the more the better, but we do honestly and modestly feel that we are neglected. Florida has more than twice the arable land the splendid State of California has, and we are not given one-fourth the space and consideration that California gets. We are not jealous of Georgia, that wonderful Southern empire State, with its endless potentialities in diversified farming. We would not expunge one page or line of information and advice concerning any of the States, but what we do want is more advice and public information in agricultural matters that specifically relate to Florida.

The publications of the United States Department of Agriculture at Washington are considered properly as authority, and as such are read, quoted and used as text-books throughout the length and breadth of our country. The publications of the Florida Department of Agriculture are just as reliable, but do not have equal weight. There are many uninformed people who consider our State literature as propaganda favoring Florida, when such is not the case. For example, meteorological data as to our summer climate is not believed when published by our own State Department, even though it emanates from the United States Department at Washington and is actually obtained and indirectly published by that department.

How few people in the United States know that Florida has the largest dairy farm in the United States or, for that matter, in the whole world? We have the largest corn field in the United States. In Florida a larger acreage is devoted to corn than any other one crop. We have 5,940,000 acres in farms, of which over 2,000,000 was crop land in 1924, the balance being in pasture or farm woodland; this does not include undrained or timber lands. The value of our farm lands in 1925 was \$117,215,000, and buildings \$63,106,000, making the aggregate value of farm property over \$480,000,000. We ship out of the State 20,000,000 boxes of fruit yearly. In 1925 we shipped out 94,000 carloads of fruit and vegetables. We have in Florida a greater variety of native forage grasses than any other section of the earth's surface. This

the field and in literature. There is a wider variety of indigenous plants, trees, shrubs and vines in Florida than in any other equal area on the earth, except a small section of Asia in the foothills of the Himalaya Mountains, north of Tibet. The reason for this variety of flora is our variety of soil, our abundant moisture and the fact that we have more sunlight than any other section of America except the arid southwest desert regions. This sunlight potentializes our acres to almost three times their actual area, because it enables us to raise two and three crops per year on any acre of land.

Florida is a birds' paradise, from the lowly buzzard to our national bird, the hen. Florida produced in 1925 about 10,000,000 dozen chicken eggs.

These are only suggestive facts gleaned from the field and from literature of the Florida Department of Agriculture. There are 115,000,000 people north of Florida in the United States who are entitled to information from sources that are unquestionable. Data as to methods of culture, cattle, hogs, poultry, pests, seasons, markets and a score of other subjects should be a part of the United States Agricultural Department's publications. Many facts of Florida agriculture read like fables to the uninitiated. An aphorism we have used before is: "There is more truth disbelieved about farming in Florida than there are lies told." All we want is that those desiring such may have available the truth from an authoritative source.

By and large, information about Florida emanating from Washington is meager, often misleading, and even inaccurate. Florida is quite an important, though comparatively new, agricultural State, and as such is entitled to some consideration. This cannot be accomplished by swivel-chair statisticians in Washington or a biennial visit to Florida by the Secretary of Agriculture. We ought to have in Florida, as in other States, full-time reporters and observers, competent to judge and make reports and recommendations, and these reports should be published along with like reports from other States.

We do not wish to be considered critical, except in a purely constructive way.

NO PESSIMISM THERE.

[FROM MANUFACTURERS RECORD]

THE Opelika (Ala.) Daily News cannot be counted among the list of pessimists as to business conditions in the South.

Referring to the report of the three Opelika banks as of December 31, it says:

"Not one cent in rediscounts is shown in either of the statements; Opelika banks are operating solely in their own liquid resources. This in the face of 11-cent cotton, with something like 7000 unsold bales from the 1926 crop stored in local warehouses. * * * Never before have local conditions presented such a picture after two or three years of great business activity. * * * Opelika is fortunate in its banks and bankers."

Continuing its optimistic report, the News says that it is ashamed that people in the South have put out such pessimistic reports as to the poverty in this section by reason of the low price of cotton, and adds:

"Any man with an ounce of finance intelligence can see from the figures contained in the statements that our present condition is ideal, as near perfect soundness as is possible under our present business system."

[FROM MANUFACTURERS RECORD]

Mexico and Nicaragua Further Discussed.

By COURTENAY DE KALB.

Many times we have pointed out, through years following years, that the United States should take steps to counteract the influence of Red Russian activities in Mexico. The official statement issued on January 12 by the State Department as a summary of its evidence submitted to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee offers no information substantially new. It is but a continuation of propaganda which every well-informed person long has known. The carelessness of our Department of State in failing to do the things that would produce warm friendship with the Mexicans, in and out of office, is inconceivable in view of the circumstances.

A mere recital of propaganda like that which has been going on in Chicago and New Orleans and other American cities is not convincing as a basis for the strong measures that have been hinted in Washington. Secretary Kellogg should have connected the Mexican Government with participation in that propaganda. On that point nothing is said. The conclusion is that such contacts were not proved. The vigorous handling of great strikes in Mexico by President Calles has shown him acting in opposition to the Red doctrine. His speeches have always been those of a man who was at one and the same time an intense nationalist and an intense individualist. These are out of accord with Red radical communistic internationalism.

There is a phase of this aggravating Mexican problem that has not been considered in this country. During the revolutions, beginning in 1910, when the State Department sent notice to our nationals in Mexico to leave at a time when relations were friendly with both sides to the domestic brawl, we have been both despised and hated. Even the ragamuffins on the Mexican streets would make contemptuous monkey-faces at Americans behind their backs. Such acts only reflect what the mischievous imps had heard their seniors say of us. We have perversely been on the wrong side of every dispute with Mexico, so far as the legal aspects were concerned. We have upheld revolutionists in arms against a de facto government in the City of Mexico. We supported "our pet bandit" in his campaign in Chihuahua, and when Carranza, hated and despised in Sonora, where he had taken refuge, came over to gather the fruits of the Villa sowing, we upheld one revolutionist against the other. It is delicate business for our Government to select between two evils of foreign parentage. That is what we have been trying to do in Nicaragua, leaving the argument with our critics instead of increasing our honor and prestige. This world of ours is still sufficiently primitive and savage that it understands and respects force better than law, and when the law is doubtful, and the right difficult to define, the world bows before the straightforward imperialist in preference to him whose behavior may be characterized as hypocritical.

The Mexican revolution was not in any respect a labor movement. In those days there were no Bolsheviks. Essentially, the revolutions were agrarian. Fundamentally, they arose from an attempt to deprive the communal village groups of their lands. The schemes resorted to as a means of getting away from these people the vast areas that they controlled are too many to be cited in a simple article. The argument behind each attempt was always the same. Great areas of land, partly good, partly suitable either for grazing or for nothing economic, were being cultivated on a small scale, with inadequate tools, and the State was not being benefited. Assuredly such a thing as progress was impossible in the face of these huge community holdings. Any economist would say

and confirmed by multitudes of charters issued by Charles III, was a survival of a worn-out past. To go ahead the Government must extinguish the communities. It was pointed out that insistence on this would lead to revolution. When Madero raised the standard of revolt he instantly appealed to the "dispossessed" and the agrarian problem became the soil in which not only revolution but radicalism flourished.

Under the old system a village, supposed to represent an ancient tribal settlement, became the center of the chartered community. In the center of the village was the fundo legal, inalienable from the tribe. The church stood in this fundo legal. Around it were the small gardens for the houses, and back of these the fields, and beyond those were the wild lands, open to all. Each child born into the community thereby became an "heir" in the tribal estate, and this was personal property and could be sold. Accordingly, it often happened that an heir would raise funds by selling his right or "derecho." Very often members of the community would increase their holdings by buying "derechos" if the number of heirs was small. Ordinarily there was no incentive to do this, because a man had no greater right in the proceeds of the community if he had fifty in place of one "derecho." Herein lies the peculiar characteristic of the system, which has exercised an influence on recent Mexican history little understood in this country. A "derecho" gave to a man the right to hold all the land that he could cultivate which was not already under the plow. He could hold it year after year, as long as he actually and effectively used it.

Apparently this conception of right by virtue of use, which is found in the ancient code of Hammurabi, the king of Babylon, in the days of Abraham, is also indigenous in Mexico. Though combined with a kind of socialism, it recognizes as fundamental the right of the able to the enjoyment of what their ability could produce over and above their fellows. It is the way out from the dead level of spiritually enervating communism for that type which Carlyle aptly called "the man who can." So in these ancient charters and under the social system that they carried forward from primitive times there was nurtured the exact opposite from a genuinely communistic ideal. From early youth the State in which he was born gave to the Mexican the spurring thought of individualism. That became the dominant ideal, cultivated in a thousand ways in all walks of life. It has resulted in that intense nationalism and determined individualism that has been observed as characteristic of the people. It is at the bottom of that unwillingness of the Mexican worker to accept the Red Russian doctrine just as the Russian presents it. The Russians have said that the Mexicans do not understand sovietism. They like some of the things in the Red program, such as large pay, larger pay on an exaggerated level for overtime, short hours and that kind of participation in the fruits of industry, but submission to the State as a worker he does not comprehend, nor will he accept the principle of working for the community. He is an individualist. He wishes large remuneration and all the personal benefits that he thinks the enterprise can stand, but he wants them for himself, not for the brotherhood and the State. Under the teaching from Moscow he has sometimes overstepped the limit of safety, and has at times destroyed industry where he expected to bleed it copiously.

It is doubtful whether anyone who has broadly investigated conditions in Mexico fails to perceive in the Mexican character this high conception of individualism, on which may be built a people with whom we can co-operate. We have needed in Mexico a grade of diplomatic representatives equal to

statesmanship are needed in dealing with our neighbor. We have been worsted in diplomacy in virtually all our disputes with her, not because they were right, but because we failed to pursue the course laid down in international law. The recent confession of the Administration at Washington that we were applying a so-called "traditional policy" instead of international law must have bewildered General Calles, who had supposed that it was law and not policy that was to rule between independent nations. If it were put to vote in this country, there is no question that the American people would declare for the use of international law in our dealing with Mexico, and for the maintenance of ambassadors in the City of Mexico who were *personae gratae*, and who would establish friendships so strong and genuine that we need not fear the Moscow propaganda there more than here at home. It is not to be disregarded in either place, but with a friendly Mexico there is infinitely less peril than with a Mexico beside whom we have never succeeded in living in amity and concord.

RIVER AND HARBOR WORK NECESSITATES SOME CHANGES IN ORGANIZATION OF BOARD OF ENGINEERS.

[FROM MANUFACTURERS' RECORD]

NOW that the Administration and Congress seem determined to do some real, broad, effective work in river and harbor development, it becomes important that some reorganization of the Board of Engineers for such work should be brought about. This board was originally organized as what might be called a "protective armor" for the Chief of Engineers to protect him against the "pork-barrel" methods which were prevalent in former years. Since Congress has, to a large extent, abandoned the pork-barrel methods of river and harbor appropriations, and the work is now outlined on a scientific basis after thorough investigation, based on legislation recommended by the Secretary of War and backed by the recommendations of the Chief of Engineers and the Board of Engineers for Rivers and Harbors, this board has become one of the most powerful commissions in Washington for the express purpose of passing upon the worthiness of river and harbor improvement projects. It is practically useless to attempt to get Federal aid for any river and harbor project that has been turned down by the board.

With the apparent determination of the Administration on the broad program suggested for the improvement of our inland waterway system, there are many experts who have had experience in the Corps of Engineers who think the board has hardly kept pace with its importance as a Government commission and on account of its original organization. The members of the board are as follows:

Brig.-Gen. Herbert Deakyne, assistant chief of engineers, Washington, D. C., senior member; Col. Spencer Cosby, division engineer at Cleveland, Ohio; Col. John C. Oakes, district engineer and division engineer at Charleston, S. C.; Col. Frank C. Boggs, district engineer at Philadelphia; Major R. C. Moore, on duty in the office of the Chief of Engineers at Washington; Major C. R. Pettis, district engineer at Baltimore; Major D. I. Sultan, Washington, resident member of the board and its executive officer.

In addition, the board has an assistant engineer on permanent duty, a position which is now held by H. W. Hobbs, who is permanently stationed in Washington.

Of the above-named officers, General Deakyne and Colonel Oakes have had long experience as members of this board, while Colonels Cosby and Boggs have had four or five years' experience. The others have had much less.

Each river and harbor bill calls for the preliminary examination and survey of a large number of waterways, and the

number of sessions, about two monthly, the board must consider many reports at each session. What with the short time available, with the physical weariness of the members who must travel from their district offices to Washington to attend the meetings of the board; what with their preoccupation with the affairs of their own districts, it is scarcely possible for them adequately to weigh the merits and demerits of each report. The circumstances induce a high "sales resistance." The "protective armor" tends to become too thick and the board is inclined to disapprove all projected improvements, no matter how meritorious. Interested parties must generally appeal to the board for reconsideration and pile up fact on fact and argument on argument for months and years. In short, the board prefers to maintain the "status quo" as the easiest and safest course of action.

As the United States is now going into a really worthwhile program of river and harbor improvement over a period of ten years, probably to cost around \$1,000,000,000, it would seem that the Corps of Engineers should have a permanent board of engineers of, say, five members, to consist of two colonels, two lieutenant colonels and one major as executive officer, all to be permanent detail jobs in Washington and with no other duties. It is not impracticable for the Chief of Engineers to call for the permanent services of some retired officers who have been retired for military reasons only. This permanent board or commission might function much as the Interstate Commerce Commission does, where one member could take the responsibility of some one project and work it out for the Commission as a whole. It is thought by some who have studied the matter that this board should in reality be like a board of directors for the improvement of rivers and harbors, instead of its present semi-effective method.

OPENING NEW POSSIBILITIES BY GOOD ROADS.

[FROM MANUFACTURERS' RECORD]

H. J. BRYSON, Acting State Geologist of North Carolina, in the course of a letter referring to what had been known in that State as the "Lost Provinces," writes:

"The so-called 'Lost Provinces' of North Carolina are a group of counties (Alleghany, Ashe and Watauga), which lie to the west of the Blue Ridge Mountains. The expense of building highways and railroads through these mountains has been so great that very little has been done. At present there is no railroad, and only one good highway, which connects these counties with the other parts of the State. All the products from them go to either Tennessee or Virginia, and all the materials brought in come from these States. Due to their more or less isolated position with regard to the other counties, the term 'Lost Provinces' has been applied to them.

"Within the past year a plan for the construction of a series of highways has been entered upon, which will open up these counties to a great extent. The new Appalachian Scenic Highway goes through one or more of these counties. Recent investigations point to several deposits of iron, mica, feldspar, etc., which may be of value when modern and cheap methods of transportation may be had."

The statements of Mr. Bryson serve as another indication as to the value of good roads.

And here comes additional testimony from the Rev. James T. Cooter of Washington College, Tenn. In a letter to the New York Times he tells of the vast possibilities in the mountain people of the Appalachian region, referring especially in this case to western North Carolina. In his letter Mr. Cooter says:

"A few years after his graduation from Princeton in 1775 the Rev. Samuel Doak located in western North Carolina (now east Tennessee) and became 'the apostle of learning and religion' to this region. The school he started in 1780

was chartered as Washington College in 1795. For nearly a century and a half it has done good service, in spite of the handicap of a meager equipment.

"In 1892 steps were taken to enable it to respond more widely to the need of its unique field—where life to most is one long struggle against conditions. Two farms were purchased, and with other facilities for student self-help, since added, Washington College has come to mean opportunity to increasing numbers from homes of isolation and poverty. The academic schedules now in use, with co-ordinate courses in vocational agriculture, have been found best adapted to the requirements of these underprivileged mountain boys and girls.

"The construction of modern highways, one of which skirts the campus, has made the institution accessible as never before. Its expansion has been so rapid in recent years as to necessitate the enlargement of its facilities. The major part of the building program, extending over three years, was completed last fall.

"The material is right. The people are all of sturdy American lineage. Hid away by Providence for a time of need, as Woodrow Wilson once said of them, there never has been a time when their steadying influence was more needed. But for intelligent and efficient participation in the affairs of State and nation on the part of all, education is indispensable.

"The Appalachian region is like an inexhaustible mine, many extensive leads of which are unexplored. To facilitate the work of making this vast reserve available will be to render a service of strategic and lasting value to the country at large."

EXPANSION PROGRAM FOR KANSAS CITY.

To Expend \$450,000 Each Year for Industries
Over Five-Year Period—\$160,000 Annually
for Publicity and Advertising.

[FROM MANUFACTURERS RECORD]

Kansas City, Mo.—Plans have been outlined by President Lou E. Holland of the Kansas City Chamber of Commerce and adopted by that body which will mean an annual expenditure of \$450,000 over a period of five years, for the industrial expansion of the Kansas City territory, including the location of new industries and the improvement and expansion of existing ones. The plan proposed contemplates the reorganization of the Chamber of Commerce with an executive vice-president at its head in charge of industrial promotion, and around his department all other activities of the chamber would center.

As a preliminary to the enlarged activities of the organization, it is proposed to engage industrial engineers to make a survey of Kansas City's possibilities for various industries. The findings of this survey will not only show the advantages of Kansas City with reference to raw products, distribution and market as they apply to individual industries, but will show the disadvantages in order that these may be obliterated if it is possible to do so, or used actually to discourage the location of industries which would face insurmountable obstacles in coming to the city.

A report of the survey would be placed in the hands of the executive vice-president. It is estimated that the survey will cost \$35,000 and will require a period of three months to complete. Every factor affecting this territory as a manufacturing center is expected to be tabulated and results compared with surveys of other cities in order to determine ways in which Kansas City may offer advantages.

A feature of the proposed plans will be the annual expenditure of \$160,000 for publicity and advertising, to include the use of daily newspapers, national and trade publications. Other important items would be the promotion of waterway travel and commerce, and action toward making Kansas City a center of aircraft production.

Details for financing the work of the chamber are expected

[FROM MANUFACTURERS RECORD]

MAKING FOLKS FEEL AT HOME.

Interesting and Important Work of a Unit of
Norfolk-Portsmouth Chamber of Commerce.

By CHARLES H. HOOFNAGLE, Norfolk.

Visitors to Norfolk, Va., are welcomed and made to feel at home in a unique way.

Probably no public office in the Virginia port sees such a great variety of personnel from such widely distributed sections as the little Tourists' Information Booth at the foot of the custom-house steps on one of the city's busiest downtown corners—in its little house only about 10 by 20 feet in dimensions.

The little booth radiates a friendly, informal atmosphere not often achieved by a chamber of commerce establishment. It is maintained as an important unit of the advertising fund of the Norfolk-Portsmouth Chamber of Commerce, and is daily making good impressions upon strangers in the city and is exploiting to them in a palatable way the outstanding achievements and potentialities of the Norfolk-Portsmouth community.

Like many another public utility, the little information booth was born of necessity. It came into existence during the latter part of the late war, under the War Camp Community Service, but rapidly outgrew its original mission to service men only, and it now has the distinction of being the only one of its kind in the United States that has developed into a permanent institution under a chamber of commerce organization.

Owing to its location in the custom-house yard, its dimensions have admitted only small physical expansion, though the growth of the work now includes business and general information for tourists. Not only in supplying the needs of the stranger after he arrives, but in attracting tourists in large numbers, the success of the work during the last year has been remarkable. Office records show that about 25,000 business men and tourists, representing every State except Nevada, in addition to Alaska and many foreign countries, registered their names at the booth in 1926. Many prolonged their stay, returned with larger groups after one visit or sent others to enjoy the varied attractions of the Tidewater section.

Strangers usually like Norfolk, but many would pass through without knowing of all its interesting features if this little office did not anticipate their fancies.

The scope of an information booth such as this, Norfolk has found, reaches far beyond the answers to direct questions. Though an inquirer can ask a hundred questions the average person would see no advantage in knowing, no mere accumulation of facts can meet the demand of an inquiring public. Experience, resourcefulness, tact and a sense of humor must be added to a storehouse of general information. When a man asks what time a certain train or boat will leave, the chances are that it has already left, so one must be prepared to meet his expression of hopeless disappointment with a comforting suggestion.

If a stranger happens to be disgruntled because he landed in Norfolk against his will, one must discover his particular interest and see that it is indulged during his stay. The stranger's good impression of the section is the basis of valuable outside publicity.

The booth is in charge of two attractive young women, who, with friendly smiles and soft Southern voices, radiate

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JH: O'B

April 21, 1927.

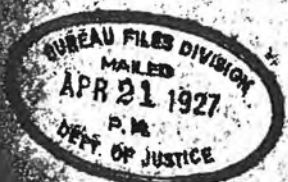
MEMORANDUM FOR MR. LUDWIG.

The Bureau is in receipt of the attached communication from Mr. H. A. Jung, dated April 19, 1927, inquiring as to whether certain activities of the National Council for Prevention of War constitutes a violation of the postal regulations. As this matter does not fall within the jurisdiction of the Bureau, I am transmitting the communication to you for such action as you may deem proper and am advising Mr. Jung of the reference.

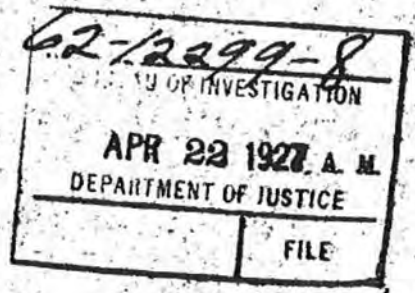
Very truly yours,

Encl.

Director.



RECORDED & INDEXED



2

MEMORANDUM ON THE
NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR
FOREIGN BORN WORKERS -
H.A. JUNG - MARCH 22, 1927

The National Council for the Protection of Foreign Born Workers is an organization instigated by the Communists of the United States to furnish an attractive means of organizing the workers in this country of foreign extraction into an organization to aid the Communist Party in attaining its ultimate ends.

The insidious part of the Communist movement is that it utilizes organizations either already formed, or formed under innocent sounding, misleading names under their guidance. One of the most dangerous features of a movement such as the Council of Foreign Born Workers is its appeal to liberals, who are constantly devoting their attention to the alleviation of the "oppressed" and who endorse an organization of this type, thus giving it much publicity and support. The Communists use it to advantage by quoting names of prominent men and women who endorse an organization of this type, and a feeling of sympathy is created throughout the country. For instance, the name of Henry T. Hunt appears on the stationery of this organization, as legal adviser. Henry T. Hunt, an ex-Mayor of Cincinnati with decidedly socialist proclivities, has figured prominently in a number of Communistic affairs, foremost of which is the Passaic textile strike. He has a large following amongst the railroad workers for whom he has acted as attorney in a number of labor cases.

On the executive committee of this organization appear the names of a number of prominent radical American Federation of Labor leaders, such as [redacted] of the typographical union; [redacted] of the firemen; James Maurer of the Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor; [redacted] of the commercial telegraphers, and another attorney by name of [redacted] of Detroit, who is secretly a Communist and prominent in Detroit at the present time for his activities as a labor attorney. b7c

This national organization is composed of a large number of councils, organized anywhere and wherever there is a group of foreigners. The far-reaching effect of an organization of this type is that while the Communist organization's nuclei are localized and are largely found concentrated within perhaps a hundred miles of a large city, these foreign born worker councils are found in towns of any size regardless of the location of the town. All that is required to organize a council is a group of foreigners, and foreign labor generally gathers around a town where unskilled labor predominates. These are the places where the councils are being formed.

An example of organization endorsement of this movement is cited in press reports which state that the Cleveland Federation of Labor in one instance and the Chicago Federation of Labor in another, have both given their endorsement.

This organization has been particularly active in a protest against the proposed "registration of aliens and deportation bills". The Communists are particularly anxious to liberalize the immigration laws to such an extent that there will be little government restraint upon the incoming foreigners because the foreigners are the most fertile field for Communist operations and a majority of them come to this country filled with radical ideas.

On January 9, 1926, a luncheon conference in opposition to these above named bills was held at the Hotel Astor, New York City. At this meeting the bills were denounced in no uncertain terms by [redacted] the prominent pastor of the Federal Council of Churches, and [redacted] of the Y.W.C.A. of Bridgeport, Conn. A letter of denouncement from the Immigrants' Protective League of Chicago, upon whose directorate appear the names of Jane Addams, Prof. Ernest Freund, [redacted] and other equally well known radicals, was read. A resolution of the American Union of Hebrew Congregations denouncing the bills, was also read.

All of the persons and organizations who voted opinions at this luncheon against the registration and deportation bills have a more or less notable personal following who accept their opinions and judgment blindly. With endorsements such as these, the National Council for the Protection of Foreign Born Workers is necessarily an organization to be closely watched, as it is distinctly Communist in origin and motive, and wherever a council is formed will be found a breeding place of radicalism.

The exact connection between the Communist movement and the National Council for Protection of Foreign Born Workers, is easily traced. The name of [redacted] appears on the stationery of the "Council" as a member of the executive committee. On August 5, 1926, a letter was sent out by the International Labor Defense (legal branch of the Workers (Communist) Party of America), signed by J. P. Cannon, secretary, appealing for funds for the aid of "class-war prisoners". In the list of "class-war prisoners" appears the following:

"Pittsburgh, Pa. - [redacted] and 22 other workers, arrested in 1923 while peaceably assembled at a workers' meeting. [redacted] first to be tried. Convicted. Appeal pending."

The name of Rebecca Grecht also appears as a member of the executive committee of the "Council". In the October 15th, 1926, issue of The Daily Worker, (official organ of the Workers (Communist) Party of America) a list of Workers' Party candidates for political offices is given. The name of Rebecca Grecht appears as candidate from the 8th district, for the Assembly of the State of New York. Miss Grecht has been active in Detroit recently. She was a speaker for a Lenin Memorial meeting, held on January 23, at the Workers Hall in Detroit. Other speakers on the same program were, Walter Trumbull, Wm. Z. Foster and R. Baker, organizer for that district.

James Maurer, while not openly connected with the Communist movement, is an ardent supporter and advocate of political measures, which are endorsed by the Communists in the United States, and is antagonistic to the conservative element in the American Federation of Labor.

In the face of these facts, can anyone deny that the Communists control the National Council for Protection of Foreign Born Workers?

* * * * *

12

"POLITICAL AND INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY"

BY

W. JETT LAUCK

FUNK & WAGNALLS-PUBLISHERS

MEMORANDUM REPORT-FEBRUARY 24, 1927

(H.A. JUNG)

* * * *



We have received from Funk & Wagnalls Company, publishers, New York City, a letter highly praising a book published by them, entitled "Political and Industrial Democracy, 1776-1926", written by W. Jett Lauck. The Publishers state that 23,000 copies of the book were sold within thirty days of publication and recommend that we purchase copies of the book which should be made easily available to our members.

We haven't seen a copy of the book, but a synopsis of it which accompanied the letter, states that it gives the plans of employee-representation in labor affairs that are in force at the plants of the Standard Oil Company, International Harvester Company, Mitten, or Philadelphia Rapid Transit Company, Pennsylvania Railroad, Southern Railroad Company, Baltimore & Ohio Railroad, and "golden rule" plan of the A. Nash Company, Inc. and those in force in other industrial plants.

All of the above information is well worth having for study by plant executives, as labor problems today are more involved than ever before. What aroused our interest was the following statement - "all these and more are described and explained in detail and commented upon fairly and fully".

The facts regarding labor history can be reviewed and one can draw his own conclusions, but an author's comment and explanations must be considered in view of the known attitude he has taken on the questions under consideration and his previous activities and affiliations.

W. Jett Lauck was educated at Washington and Lee University and after his graduation, served some time as professor of economics and politics at the University of Chicago and later at Washington and Lee University. In 1907, he was in charge of the industrial investigation of the United States Immigration Commission. In 1910, he was chief examiner of the Tariff Board and from 1913 to 1915, was consulting statistician of United States Commission on Industrial Relations. He has also acted as consulting statistician for other commissions and bureaus of the United States Government.

During the war, he acted as an expert on railway economics for the "Railroad Brotherhoods" and has on other occasions prepared statistics for the United Mine Workers of America and other labor unions. He has contributed to liberal and radical, as well as labor papers, his articles having appeared in the "Nation", "New Republic", "Labor", "American Federationist", "Machinists Journal", etc. He has also written several books or pamphlets on economic subjects.

Press reports of W. Jett Lauck's testimony when appearing as consulting economist for labor unions before United States Government authorities, stamp him as strongly pro-labor in his attitude and we would view with very much suspicion the statement that in his book on Industrial Democracy he has commented on existing plans "fairly and fully".

The following press reports given an insight into Mr. Lauck's views on labor matters:

The Daily News - April 8, 1920;

"Flat rejection of the plan proposed by President Wilson's second industrial conference for the settling of labor unrest was urged before the senate labor committee today, by W. Jett Lauck, secretary of the old war labor board. Mr. Lauck was the first witness at hearings on the conference plan preliminary to the drafting of legislation to carry into effect such of it as the committee may deem advisable. Mr. Lauck told the committee that the industrial unrest throughout the world was due to the fact that labor organizations were 'demanding a greater measure of control by labor in industry' as well as larger earnings and shorter hours. 'This', he said, 'was due to a new 'conception of democracy' requiring that the principles of political democracy be taken into the industrial fields.' The conference report he asserted, did not meet this. The conference likewise, he said, had failed to use trade unionism as a basis for collective bargaining; did not provide any principles on which to base settlements and had recommended regional methods of dispute settlements rather than industrial boards in each industry."

The Daily News - April 19, 1921.

"The evidence shows that there is a capitalist combine consisting of the major banks, the railroads and the industries controlling basic materials, and that this combine has, and exercises a power over the economic destiny of the United States. It shows that within the identical capitalist groups lies the power to dominate and adjust relative prices in a manner that will stimulate or suppress industrial activity. It points out that this local capitalist group has deliberately maintained higher prices of steel, coal, cement and other basic materials, and that the railroads have refused to place the orders for plant maintenance, or even the orders necessary to prevent plant and material equipment depreciation.

"The exhibit shows that the greater factors in American industry, the railway equipment producers, the railway repair shops, the steel interests, the coal, cement and other basic material producers-all are closely bound together by intercapital relations and into interlocking directorates coming to focus in the House of Morgan.

"The banks are making unprecedented profits and declaring unprecedented dividends, and the same applies to steel and coal and rail equipment, and other similarly situated concerns. The capitalist combine in preparing to precipitate unemployment, adopted the policy that the railroads should do it first. Railway improvement programs were deferred; railway maintenance was reduced below minimum requirements.

"The report brings into clear relief the fact that there is no foundation for opinion which the employer's publicity machinery would popularize, that the railways and other great industries are the victims of some misfortune of the time.

"Industrial paralysis, which has staggered America, is Capital on strike against Society, and Capital, nationally and internationally organized and concentrated, takes the stand that the Capital strike shall go on until labor surrenders and comes to its knees and consents to sweeping reductions in wages, and also con-

sents to surrender its right to collective bargaining on a scale co-extensive with the organization of its employers."

The Chicago Tribune - April 18, 1922.

"Admitting that labor costs of operation of railroads are too high, W. Jett Lauck, testifying today before the senate interstate commerce committee as consulting economist of the railway employees' department of the American Federation of Labor, declared that this excessive cost was not due to unreasonable wages but to delinquency of railroad management. Responsibility for the present plight of the railroads, Mr. Lauck insisted, rests primarily upon the financial rather than the operating end of management.

"Their properties are depleted," he said; "their efficiency is seriously impaired; their credit is undermined; their profits are dwindling. It is hopeless to ask for higher rates, because the railroads have been dominated by men who know how to manipulate stocks and bonds rather than by men who know how to carry on the service of transportation on the basis of a maximum of load for a minimum of energy."

The above quotations of Mr. Lauck's views on capital and labor as expressed before various United States Government authorities need no comment. Any man expressing the views quoted is incapable of commenting "fairly and fully" on any topic that concerns the relations of employer and employe, or, as he would probably express it, "capital and labor".

If we change the word labor to "proletariat", the quotations cited would sound like a voice from Moscow. Can Mr. Lauck, who is reported as the author of the above statements be trusted to have been fair to "capital" in his comment on the relations between capital and labor in his book?

W. Jett Lauck was very prominent in the public eye during the negotiations which ended in the admittance of the strikers at Passaic into the fold of the A.F. of L.

On July 5, 1926, the A.F. of L. issued a news-release "To All Organized Labor" in which it stated:

"The leaders of the United Front Committee are prominently connected with the Communist movement in the United States. It is reasonable to conclude because of their relationship to the Communist Party that they are interested in advancing the cause of Communism."

The United Front Committee at Passaic, finding themselves confronted with too great a task in caring for the striking workers with winter approaching, decided that to relieve themselves of the burden, they must deal with the A.F. of L., who in turn could deal with the employing mill owners and in the meantime were financially able to carry the burden. Remember that the A.F. of L. had branded the strikers' leaders as Communists, and it would naturally follow that the strikers themselves were Communist sympathizers.

After a twenty-seven weeks' walk-out, more than 8000 of the strikers voted to seek admission as members of the A.F. of L. They also voted to place further peace negotiations between themselves, the A.F. of L. and the mill owners in the hands of a committee of citizens, and at the head of this committee was W. Jett Lauck.

We do not intend to detail the negotiations that ensued, but will summarize as follows:

The strikers were coached by their Communist leaders to accept the ultimatum that Albert Weisbord and the United Front Committee must

resign as representatives of the strikers.

Weisbord resigned, and [REDACTED] who had been a member of the United Front Committee, replaced Weisbord. The United Textile Workers of the A.F. of L. granted a charter to the strikers and an A.F. of L. union was formed. b7C

The A.F. of L. was handed a beautifully engraved "GOLD BRICK" by the Lauck Committee in that their United Textile Workers' Union in Passaic is Communistic in everything except name, and their idol today is Albert Weisbord, the Communist leader.

It does not seem plausible to us that W. Jett Lauck with his many years of study of industrial problems, did not know that he was aiding the Communist Party and not the A.F. of L. when he conducted the settlement at Passaic. His connections with the American Civil Liberties Union, Foreign Policy Association, and other activities stamp him as radical in sentiment and biased toward capital and the employing class.

Knowledge of what employers are doing along the lines of industrial relations is valuable if authentic, no matter where it is found. We have no doubt, much valuable information is contained in Mr. Lauck's book, however, we advise all those of our members and friends who read the book to segregate all the facts from the writer's descriptions and comments and in considering the latter, to remember the author's past record.

The commendations quoted by the publishers are from professors of economics and sociology - none from practical business executives.

Undoubtedly the book will have a big sale as the writer has been well in the front on industrial questions for several years and Funk & Wagnalls Company is among our foremost publishers.

Our object in writing this review is to give our members and friends what we believe to be a proper perspective from which to study his book, should they perchance read it.

* * * * *

HARRY A. JUNG

SUITE 1007
133 WEST WASHINGTON STREET
CHICAGO

April
Nineteen
1927

Mr. J. E. Hoover,
Bureau of Investigation,
Department of Justice,
Washington, D.C.

My dear Mr. Hoover:

The National Council for Prevention of War, which as you know is headed up by Frederick J. Libby as executive secretary, seems to be getting off very easy these days in so far as their postage disbursements are concerned.

More or less recently, in franked envelopes, I have received copies of the Congressional Record or part of the Congressional Record, being the speeches always of those in opposition to the administration. In other words, good propaganda for the National Council for Prevention of War and the Lord knows how many of these have been broadcast at the expense of Uncle Sam. The Congressional Records that have very recently been sent to me are those reporting the speeches in the Senate by Sen. E. Borah (undated), J. E. Rankin, February 2, Robert M. LaFollette, Jr., January 14, Tom Connally, February 25, Lynn J. Frazier, March 3, Burton Z. Wheeler, March 3 and Burton W. Wheeler, January 26. All these talks consist of criticism of the administration's foreign policy.

I am wondering if any postal regulations are being violated in this system which permits an organization that is in direct opposition to our National Defense Act, using the mail for propaganda purposes and avoiding payment of just charges to get its insidious message to the people.

I should not like to appear as a complainant against this organization, for that would immediately result in the removal of my name from their mailing list, consequently this would be a delicate matter, although if necessary, I would gladly make the sacrifice should there be any postal regulations requiring the appearance of a plaintiff.

Very truly yours,

H.A. Jung
H.A. Jung

HAS/EP

HARRY A. JUNG

SUITE 1007
133 WEST WASHINGTON STREET
CHICAGO

(2)

April 29, 1927

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover,
Director,
Federal Bureau of Investigation,
Washington, D.C.

12299
RECORDED

Dear Mr. Hoover:

Years of the twenty-first:

There is a far reaching plan on the part of the
United States to attract the world's business.

Whether this reaction is to be, I believe
there is no law criminal against this activity
is a question of public privilege and
the dissemination of information to the local
Council for Prevention of War.

There perhaps will be the article for citizens
to the effect that I have a part in
this movement, however, in this case, I am not
the secret hands of the war movement.
Myself, I am in direct opposition to
the movement for war, and I am not
a part of it. I am not a part of the movement
for war, and I am not a part of the movement
for war, and I am not a part of the movement
for war.

Very respectfully,
Harry A. Jung

Enclosed,
Harry A. Jung
F.B.I.

5/1/27

RECORDED

Mr. Lukering
5/4/27
H.

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BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION	
APR 29 1927	
Div. One	Div. Two

NY 598
62-12299-10

MAY 6 1927

May 4, 1927.

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. LINNARD.

I am transmitting, attached
hereto, for your information, copy of
a communication received from HARRY A.
JONES, of Chicago.

Very truly yours,

Acting Director.

Enc. 61188.



2

1. 1941

Mr. J. L. Thompson,
Federal Reserve Bank,
Department of Statistics,
Boston, Mass.

1972-73. 42-43-44

and herewith, letter
on the Interstate Commerce
Council. It did not go into the
details of the "Brazzetti case,"
but simply stated that the
records of the National Citizens' and
Committee on this matter, for
Governor Miller's review.

[illegible]

b7c

Sincerely,

H.A. 3/21

מ. 5/ קי

P.S. Get the 1st issue of "Animal Business"
and read my article "Mysterious Blood in
Russia".

RECORDED & INDEXED

62-12299
BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

MAY 2 1922
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Div. Two

FILE COPY

MEMORANDUM ON
THE INTERNATIONAL LABOR
DEFENSE COUNCIL -
H. A. JUNG -
APRIL 19, 1927.

The International Labor Defense Council was organized on June 28, 1925, when more than one hundred delegates from trade unions, social societies and other workers' organizations, several ex-political prisoners and a number of liberals gathered at the Ashland Auditorium, Chicago, Ill.

This gathering was called by the Labor Defense Council which was an organization that was organized for the legal defense of the Communists arrested at the Bridgman, Michigan raid in 1922.

The Labor Defense Council was organized by William Z. Foster who became the national secretary. On the National Committee of this organization were Roger N. Baldwin, [REDACTED] Eugene V. Debs, [REDACTED] Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, [REDACTED] b1

[REDACTED] Dr. John A. Lapp and other equally well known radicals. Communist named as cooperating with the committee of the defendants were Earl R. Browder, William F. Dunne, William Z. Foster and C. E. Ruthenberg. Of course, Ruthenberg and Foster were two of the Communists under indictment at that time for their connection with the Bridgman Communist convention.

At the June 28, 1925 convention it was decided to broaden the scope of the defense activities to include legal aid and relief to all class-war prisoners regardless of their political or industrial affiliations and to assist persecuted and prosecuted workers abroad. This new organization was named the International Labor Defense. A program and constitution were adopted and resolutions were passed. The national officers and national committee as chosen at this time were as follows:

NATIONAL OFFICERS

[REDACTED]
James P. Cannon, Executive Secy.
NATIONAL COMMITTEE

Wm. Z. Foster

Chas. E. Ruthenberg

Ben Fletcher
Robert Whittaker

James P. Cannon
Ralph Chaplin

Harrison George
Alice Stone Blackwell
Robert Minor

Alex Howat
Max Bedacht
John T. Taylor

Benjamin Gitlin b7C

Jacob Dolla
J. O. Bentall
William Boush

6-11-27 99-11

No. 2.
4/19/27

A notation in connection with this meeting states:

"The conference which was very successful and full of the spirit of unity was followed by an equally successful mass meeting in the evening at which Bishop William Montgomery Brown, Ralph Chaplin, Andrew T. McNamara, Henry Corbishley, James P. Cannon and George Maurer spoke."

The following letter was sent out under date of July 6, 1926, on the stationery of the Workers Party of America, 1113 Washington Boulevard, Room 302, Chicago, Illinois:

"To all branches of the Party and League.

"Dear Comrades: You all know, surely, of the great success of the Labor Defense Conference in forming a new, broad organization - the International Labor Defense. The Labor Defense Council has merged into the International Labor Defense and turned over its apparatus, etc., to it; but has been only able to turn over a few hundred dollars, because of the \$4000.00 expenses for the Pittsburg and Deportation cases, in the month of June.

"We need not, of course, point out the immensely increased needs of the International Labor Defense for funds - to issue literature, membership ~~relations~~ etc. and at the same time to meet defense and prisoners' aid expenses, for ALL class-war defendants and prisoners.

"About a month ago the Labor Defense Council sent \$24.00 worth of Defense Coupons to every party and League Branch in order to raise sufficient funds for the defense of the Pittsburgh comrades and for such deportation cases as those of [redacted] etc. These cases will, along with many others, be handled in the future by the International Labor Defense. You must defend them and MANY OTHERS.

"EVERY MEMBER, EVERY UNIT, MUST DO ITS UTMOST TO BUILD AND SUPPORT THE INTERNATIONAL LABOR DEFENSE.

"COME TO ITS AID NOW, ESPECIALLY SINCE FUNDS ARE IMMEDIATELY AND BADLY NEEDED.

"SELL AND BUY All of the Coupons, take collections and RUSH THE REMITTANCES.

"Yours for a powerful, mass defense organization.

"Comradely yours, (Signed) C. E. [redacted]
Executive Secretary

"NOTE: Make remittances payable to the International Labor Defense, Lincoln St., Chicago, Ill. and address all communications to the secretary, same address."

A letter transmitted under the signature of C. E. [redacted] executive secretary of the Workers (Communist) Party of America, stationery of that organization was sent out under date of July [redacted] which the following statement is made:

"The Central Executive Committee of the Party has decided to give full support to the INTERNATIONAL LABOR DEFENSE and has also decided that every Party member shall join it and give active support to its work. INTERNATIONAL LABOR DEFENSE is based on individual membership branches of 10¢ per month.

"Party members must form branches of the International Labor Defense everywhere in the following manner:

"1. The first order of business at the next meeting of the branch shall be INTERNATIONAL LABOR DEFENSE.

"2. The branch meeting shall temporarily constitute the International Labor Defense. It shall then elect a committee and delegate to the Local Central Executive Committee of the International Labor Defense. The secretary of the branch shall be the secretary of the International Labor Defense.

No. 3.
4/19/27

all the members as members of the I.L.D. and collect the monthly dues and other contributions. The I.L.D. will send to each local the necessary dues books, stamps and supplies for use in organizing the branch of the I.L.D. Branches will be supplied by the local offices of the I.L.D. The sale of the defense stamps of the Party will be discontinued by the branch as soon as the members have secured their new cards and bought their first I.L.D. stamp.

"3. All dues and other contributions collected shall be turned over to the local Defense Secretary who will supply the branch secretaries with dues books and stamps of the I.L.D.

"4. After the I.L.D. work is completed, the meeting of the I.L.D. branch shall adjourn and the members reconvene as the Party branch.

"5. The branch of the I.L.D. thus constituted shall continue to meet at the same time and place as the branch of the Party until after the Party convention. After the Party convention the I.L.D. branch shall meet at the same time and place and begin to recruit non-party members into campaigns, etc. -- of public meetings, personal solicitation, special

"6. The I.L.D. branches formed according to the above directions will be entitled to send one delegate each to the Local Defense Conference to be held Sunday, Sept. 13th.

"7. All further information needed can be secured from the local secretary of the INTERNATIONAL LABOR DEFENSE.

"Comrades, the INTERNATIONAL LABOR DEFENSE needs the support of every class-conscious worker. Not a single communist should neglect this duty or fail to become a member.

"Put INTERNATIONAL LABOR DEFENSE on the first order of business at your next branch meeting and carry out the above directions faithfully."

In the latter part of 1925 they started a publication of their national organization, "The Labor Defender" which was devoted largely to stories about class-war prisoners or notorious cases of friction between labor and capital. Also carrying a section listing the contributions from various supporters of the organization and letters from political prisoners and penitentiary sentences and so forth.

One of the letters issued by the International Labor Defense re the "Labor Defender" reads as follows:

"Dear Friend of Labor Defense:

"We are glad to acknowledge receipt of your copy of the Labor Defender. We wish to thank you in the name of the workers and their dependents for whom the Labor Defender speaks on our mailing list and will receive the magazine by mail."

"Every new reader of the Labor Defender is a new member of the International Labor Defense. Thousands and tens of thousands of workers are doing a great deal in building the I.L.D. into the greatest workers' organization that it must and will be."

"The Labor Defender will be a powerful weapon in the hands of the workers in America and other countries. It will help the workers regardless of their political or

No. 4.
4/19/37

"We are enclosing herewith a few subscription blanks which we hope you will make good use of after you have read your copy through and shown it to your friends.

"Thanking you again and trusting to hear from you shortly, we remain, Fraternally yours, THE LABOR DEFENDER."

During the summer time this organization organizes picnics throughout the country for the purpose of raising funds and has prominent Communist speakers and officials to address the meetings at these picnics. A large part of their work is done through the organization of these outings as it is generally felt that the workers feel more free when they are attending such gatherings than they do at any other time.

Appeals are always being made for funds such as the following letter which was sent out in July, 1926 under the signature of James P. Cannon, executive secretary:

"Dear Friend: The wife of a worker who had been in prison since the 1920 coal miners' strike, writes as follows:

"I have six children - four girls aged 16, 14, 12 and 2 years old and two boys 10 and 5 years. And how I manage to make a living? I'll tell you. I just make the best I can. It is sure ~~as~~ a lone woman, and not so strong either, to make a living for 80 ~~more~~ ~~than~~ ~~work~~ for the Wheeling Metal Manufacturing Co. but they are closed down now. I received your letter and check which sure did come in good time as I haven't had any work for about two months and as you know it is a man's size job to keep a large family going."

"This letter was sent to the International Labor Defense, but it was intended for you and the 30,000 others we are trying to reach with this circular. This is only one of many letters we have been receiving since the June 28th Conference for United Labor Defense. They come from the class-war prisoners, from deportees and from their dependents.

"At the June 28th Conference, one of the ex-prisoners who was attending as a delegate, told us that in addition to the anxiety about their dependents on the outside, the class-war prisoners have still another nightmare which faces them. He put it this way:

"It's being released at the expiration of your term, with only one shoddy suit of clothes to your name, a Five Dollar bill in your pocket, and a railroad ticket back to the place you came from. Your contacts are broken, sick of body from confinement and rotten prison food, and no means of supporting yourself. If International Labor Defense will raise a fund to supply released prisoners with a short vacation on a farm, you will be doing the labor movement a great service because each one of them comes out more rebellious than when he went in."

"International Labor Defense wants to raise such a fund in addition to all its other duties as outlined in the Constitution. But more than that it will strive to

Stir organized workers into united action for the freedom of labor's prisoners.

"Read the enclosed literature then contribute as much as you can. Get others to contribute. The need is great. Write us today."

They have been active in raising funds ostensibly for the purpose of supporting Sacco and Vanzetti.

"The Daily Worker" (Official organ of the Workers (Communist) Party of America) has carried announcements of hundreds of meetings held under the

auspices of the International Labor Defense for the purpose of raising funds for Sacco and Vanzetti and other political prisoners' defense.

The following list of meetings appeared in "The Daily Worker" (Official organ of the Workers (Communist) Party of America) of May 22, 1926, with the statement:

"Mass meetings from coast to coast in protest against the legal murder of Nicola Sacco and Barolomeo Vanzetti are to be held within the next few days, according to an announcement made by the national office of International Labor Defense.

"The meetings, many of which have already been arranged, will be addressed by some of the most prominent speakers in the labor, liberal and radical movements. The following are among those which have already been arranged. Information about meetings in other cities continue to come to the national office of I.L.D.:

Philadelphia, May 22, with Stanley J. Clark and Elizabeth Gurley Flynn.
Pittsburgh, June 3, with Elizabeth Gurley Flynn and Jas. P. Cannon.
Baltimore, June 1, with Norman H. Tallentire.
Cleveland, June 4, with Elizabeth Gurley Flynn and Jas. P. Cannon.
Kansas City, Mo., June 10, Charlotte Anita Whitney, who is herself out on a California criminal syndicalism case.
San Francisco, June 3, Robert Whitaker.
New York City, May 28, with Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Norman Thomas, Harry Kelly, Luigi Quintellano, and others.
Los Angeles, May 30, with Robert Whitaker.
Portland, Oregon, May 30, with John C. Kennedy.
Chicago, May 28, with Robert Morris Lovett, William Z. Foster, Jas. P. Cannon, C. E. Ruthenberg, Charlotte Anita Whitney, and an Italian speaker.
St. Louis, June 9, Charlotte Anita Whitney.
Newark, May 28, Robert W. Dunn.

"Announcement of other meetings will be made as soon as they are available. Workers everywhere are being especially urged to attend these meetings and voice their protest against the frame-up which may result in the electrocution of these two innocent Italian workers whose only crime is devotion to the cause of labor."

Another article in "The Daily Worker" of May 24, 1926, states:
"HELP to distribute one million leaflets on the case of SACCO AND VANZETTI. Ten thousand for ten dollars. Send your order to International Labor Defense, 23 South Lincoln Street, Chicago."

This leaflet was gotten up by Eugene V. Debs.

The closing paragraph of it reads as follows:

"Arouse ye toiling millions of the nation and swear by all you hold sacred in the cause of labor and in the cause of truth and justice and all things of good report, that Sacco and Vanzetti, your brothers and mine, innocent as we are, shall not be foully murdered to glut the vengeance of a gang of plutocratic slave drivers!"

In the August 1926 edition of the "Labor Defender", a call was sent out for the Second Annual Conference of the International Labor Defense, which reads as follows:

"To all locals and branches of International Labor Defense and to all Labor Unions and other workingclass organizations sympathetic to its work:

"Greetings: In compliance with the provisions of the constitution which provides for the holding of a National Conference every year, the National Executive Committee at its last meeting decided to call the Second Annual Conference of International Labor Defense to be held on Sunday, September 5th, 1926. The conference will convene at 10 A.M. in the Ashland Auditorium, corner Ashland Blvd. and Van Buren St., Chicago, Ill.

4/19/27

"It is the aim of the National Executive Committee to make this Second Annual Conference an imposing mass demonstration of the unity of all conscious and progressive elements in the labor movement for the defense and support of class war prisoners and their families, and for organized resistance to capitalist persecution in America and throughout the world.

"To this end provisions have been made for representation at the conference for all working class bodies which are sympathetic to the aims of International Labor Defense, as well as for the organized branches and local units of the I.L.D.

"The representation in the National Conference will be as follows:

- "1. Each branch of I.L.D. is entitled to send one delegate for each fifty members.
- "2. Each local secretary of the I.L.D. is entitled to come as a delegate.
- "3. All trade unions, co-operatives, workers' fraternal societies, defense committees and other working class bodies sympathetic to the aims of International Labor Defense are invited to send one delegate for each one hundred members.
- "4. Former class war prisoners are invited to attend the conference as fraternal delegates.
- "5. The ~~members~~ of the National Committee of I.L.D. will attend the conference as fraternal delegates.
- "6. The expenses of all delegates attending the conference are to be paid by the delegates themselves or by the organizations they represent.

"Comrades and fellow workers! The year behind us has been one of honest work and solid achievement in the field of Labor Defense. The note of unity and solidarity in defense of persecuted workers has been sounded louder and louder month by month. The International Labor Defense, by its aggressive and militant campaigns, its genuine non-partisanship in defending and supporting persecuted workers without any distinctions or restrictions whatever, by the spirit of brotherly solidarity which has prevailed in all the work of all of its sections, has firmly established its place as an organ of the labor movement. It has endeared itself to all conscious and progressive workers and has already enrolled tens of thousands under its banner.

"The program adopted at the First Annual Conference last June has been written into deeds during the past year to such an extent as to establish beyond argument the necessity for its permanent existence and further development.

"The big task before us now is to expand the organization on a far bigger scale, to give the wide sentiment for Labor Defense a definite organizational form. The Second Annual Conference will discuss the ways and means of achieving this end.

"Active participation in the conference of all working class bodies which recognize the necessity for non-partisan Labor Defense will assure that the Second Annual Conference of International Labor Defense will mark the starting point of a new stage in the development of this work on a scale never before known in America.

"All organizations who favor this idea are urgently requested to send delegates to the conference.

"Yours fraternally, National Executive Committee, International Labor Defense, J. P. Cannon, Secretary."

The following report was made on the meeting held Wednesday, September 8th, 1926:

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"At the convention of International Labor Defense, held in Chicago at the Ashland Boulevard Auditorium, Van Buren Street and Ashland Boulevard, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn was made permanent Chairman, after Secretary James P. Cannon had opened the meeting, International Chairman Andrew T. McNamara, being too ill to attend. Edward C. Wentworth was the temporary Chairman, George Maurer of Chicago was made Secretary of the meeting. J. P. Cannon read of the progress of their first year, claims 20,000 individual or active members and from 75,000 to 100,000 affiliated members. These are Reds scattered in the different unions of the United States and other countries.

"The speakers lauded their effort in freeing from jails labor prisoners such as The Pittsburgh Communists, Fall River Anarchists, Zeigler Miners, Passaic Strikers, and Campaign to liberate Sacco and Vanzetti, class war victims in Hungary, Lithuania, Poland, Great Britain and other countries.

"Charles Cline, released from Texas prison after thirteen years, for Mexican expedition work contrary to United States and International Laws, spoke. He attributes his release to this I.L.D.

"Albert Weisbord, the Red who raised so much trouble in textile or Passaic strike, and who was run off that job by the American Federation of Labor, spoke and called President Green, Vice President Woll and [redacted] of the American Federation of Labor all kinds of names as traitors, inter to the laboring class. When Weisbord took the floor they sang 'The
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the Communist's war song.
Carl Hacker of Cleveland, speakers were; Ralph Chaplin, Cyril Lambkin of Detroit, Sacco and Vanzetti, Eugene V. [redacted] of Poland. Resolutions were sent to [redacted] of Boston was William Montgomery Brown.

and recommended a few changes which were unanimous, of the constitution committee fifteen cents, ten cents a month dues. Letters and telegrams. Initiation fee from Communist leaders of other countries and the United States. A [redacted] from a speech by Secretary J. P. Cannon was read; 'Our work will not end quickly for it can end only when all workers in prison are released and none can anymore be threatened with imprisonment. But that will only be when all workers are released and not only from jail but from that gigantic prison which is capitalism.'

"National Committee; Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Chairman; Charles Cline, Albert Weisbord, [redacted] Robert Morris Lovatt, [redacted]
b6
Clarence Darrow.

"The above national committee will meet and choose the executive committee and all other officers and do what business may properly come before them. And they will not meet in open hall, but secretly and thus keep from the government or any other secret service, their real objective."

The official report of the Second Annual Conference as given in the "Labor Defender" of October 1926 by James P. Cannon, executive secretary, states;

"The Second Conference recorded the growth of the organization from a little more than an idea last year to a functioning active body of some twenty thousand individual members and a collective affiliated membership of seventy-five thousand workers. With one hundred and fifty-six branches throughout the country, International Labor Defense has developed in one year to be able to play an effective and sometimes a decisive role in the class struggle in connection with labor defense."

Another section of Cannon's report states;

"The conference had material progress to record in the maintenance of the international obligations of the I.L.D. which were pledged at the first conference. The campaign was conducted for [redacted] in Hungary, for the Polish and Lithuanian workers were amply compensated for by the generous help given us by the workers in Europe and Latin America through the cooperation of the International Red Aid (official organ of Soviet Russia) in our campaign here for Sacco and

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Vanzetti. In this reciprocal work the principle of internationalism was taught by deeds which are profound and lasting."

The International Labor Defense, the American Civil Liberties Union and the Workers (Communist) Party of America are cooperating organizations. The American Civil Liberties Union official weekly bulletin No. 228 of December 9, 1926, states as follows:

"Plans for a free speech test meeting in Yorkville are being drawn up by the American Civil Liberties Union, the International Labor Defense and the Workers Party following the action of Yorkville police in halting a meeting by workers on November 7 in celebration of the Russian revolution."

A brief resume of the national officers and national committee of the International Labor Defense is as follows:

A reported October 6, 1925 states:

"The first International Labor Defense was gotten up by the anarchists to help Tom Mooney of the Berkman anarchist gang, who was the Preparedness Day murderer in San Francisco and to aid other American Federation of Labor and I.W.W. murderers. A branch has been recently organized in Los Angeles headed by Clarence Darrow, the defendant of criminals of all sorts, Roger Baldwin, the leader of the American Civil Liberties Union and openly a Communist, [redacted] Communist and dynamiter, etc. [redacted]"

treasurer [redacted] of the International Labor Defense was (Communist) Party member of the [redacted] Press (official news gathering agency of the Workers high school in Chicago. His [redacted] He was born in [redacted] and attended Sacco and Vanzetti Conference of Chicago as a member of the Committee of the secretary. A Chicago "Daily News" report of [redacted] was as a member of the Board of Directors of the Russian [redacted] 1927, gives him [redacted] Farms.

JAMES P. CANNON was assistant executive secretary of the Workers (Communist) Party of America, chairman of the Central Executive Committee, for several years following the organization of the Party in 1921, a member of the Political Committee since the organization of the party. He was born in Kansas City, Kansas and attended Kansas City Law School. He was originally of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees and a member of the International Alliance and Bartenders' International League of America. A Central Executive Committee member of the Communist Party until merged with the Workers Party. Represented the Workers Party on the Executive Committee of the Communist International in 1922. In 1921 he was on the Executive Committee of the Friends of Soviet Russia. He was the principal speaker at a Lenin meeting held at Ford Hall, Boston, Mass. on January 20, 1927, where he stated:

"Lenin is dead but Leninism is alive today. It is alive in China and it was Lenin first of all who said that Leninism would rise in China. The Lenin flag flies all over China today. Leninism was alive in the British coal strike. Leninism is alive in Nicaragua. Leninism is alive in Mexico. All you have to do is to read the capitalist press to find out whether Leninism is alive in Mexico. . . . Lenin is alive in the New York labor movement - oh, yes, Lenin is alive in sleepy old Boston though you may not know it. Lenin's life should be held up as a model to the world. It was Lenin who was the guide of Sacco and Vanzetti. When you see the best spirits of our labor movement in prison then you see who are following Lenin."

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He concluded his address as follows:

"In these pioneer years we must organize the unorganized in trade unions but we have a task here near at home. Our comrades are in prison - our comrades Sacco and Vanzetti. They are in prison for our cause, don't forget that. . . Our time will come. America will topple. Our work will bear fruit. We, on this third anniversary of Lenin's death, take up his teachings. Today belongs to capitalism, tomorrow belongs to us."

He is one of the most virile agitators and one of the most active members of the Communist Party.

UPTON SINCLAIR is a man who is nationally known as an author of socialistic and communistic literature. He was born in Baltimore, Md. in 1878. Studied in the College of the City of New York and took a four-year graduate course in Columbia. He was a socialist candidate for Congress from New Jersey in 1906, from California in 1920 and was socialist candidate for the United States Senate from California in 1924. He assisted in the founding of the Inter-collegiate Socialist Society now known as the League for Industrial Democracy and assisted in the founding of the California branch of the American Civil Liberties Union in 1923. His books are recommended as reading by the Communists. "The Daily Worker" (official organ of the Workers (Communist) Party of America) published his novel, "Oil" as a serial. Upton Sinclair was quoted in a pamphlet issued on the stationery of The Daily Worker Campaign Committee at the time their address was 1009 N. State Street, Chicago, as follows:

"Rose Pastor Stokes asks me to express my sentiments on the subject of the proposed new daily of the Workers Party. I cannot express my sentiments; they are inexpressible. The thing I want to see most of all in these United States is a workers' daily in every big city. Everything else in the workers' movement depends upon that. So long as the workers read the newspapers of the capitalists they will think with them and vote with them. So, if you really want to take America out of the hands of the organized grafters and parasites, by all means work for the new daily in Chicago."

He is also a member of the Advisory Committee of the Communist-controlled institution, Commonwealth College, located at Mena, Ark. and a member of the National Committee of the Debs' Memorial Radio Fund Committee.

WILLIAM Z. FOSTER, American Communists' Second Chief, is Chairman of the Workers (Communist) Party of America since 1924; secretary-treasurer, Trade Union Educational League since organization 1920. He was born on February 26, 1881, at Taunton, Mass. He went to work at the age of 10 after attending school for 3 years. Worked as a sculptor's apprentice, type founder, factory worker, steam engineer, steam fitter, railroad brakeman, railroad fireman, logger, salesman, street car motorman, longshoreman, farmer, deep water sailor and railroad car inspector. He joined the Socialist Party in 1900; expelled in 1909 and joined the I.W.W. Member of the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen. Was arrested for participation in a free speech fight at Spokane, Wash. in 1909. Delegate from I.W.W. to Budapest meeting of Trade Unions Secretariat, 1910, but seat was awarded to A. F. of L. delegate. During 13 months' study of European labor movement, he became convinced that the policy of dual unionism was wrong; after his return to the United States, he took part in the formation of the Syndicalist League of North America, 1911. Helped to organize the International Trade Union Educational League, 1916; secretary of committee organizing 250,000 steel workers, 1918; conducted strike of 400,000 steel workers. He went to Russia in 1921; attended Congresses, Communist International and Red International of Labor Unions; joined Communist Party. He was candidate for United States President in first Communist election campaign in 1924. He was in charge of the organization of the steel, transportation, food

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[redacted] was [redacted] of the Labor Defense Council in the early part of 1925 before its reorganization. After the formation of the International Labor Defense Council he was business manager of the official organ, "Labor Defender" and is an occasional contributor to "The Daily Worker", (official organ of the Workers (Communist) Party of America.) b7c

CHAS. E. RUTHENBERG was direct Moscow representative of the Communist Third International and executive secretary of the Workers (Communist) Party of America. Now deceased.

[redacted] and BEN FLETCHER, no records. b7c

ROBERT WHITAKER was born in England and educated at Lawrence Academy, Groton, Mass. and Newton Theological Seminary. Was a missionary in Mexico in 1888-89 and has been pastor of several churches on the Pacific coast since then. He has been field secretary for the American Civil Liberties Union and editor of the "Open Forum" since 1924 until a short time ago. In 1925 he was aiding and associating with I.W.W.'s and other radicals in California. On January 11, 1927, a branch of the "Brotherhood of Peace" was formed at the Los Angeles Labor Temple for the purpose of opposing military and naval interference in Mexico, Nicaragua and China. Robert Whitaker was reported as being among those present and representing the American Civil Liberties Union. He wrote a number of articles under the title of "Talks about Talking" in the "Industrial Worker" articles hereafter of the Industrial Workers of the World. In one of these "Industrial literature" "Preamble" of the I.W.W. and states:
of the Preamble, and as far as it goes, has reproduced nothing quite the equal to be surpassed. The I.W.W. speaker could not do better than to build his public address on this compendium of class struggle philosophy, and to stress especially the coherent and compelling unity of it."
He also has contributed to the "Western Progressive Farmer" (official organ of the Western Progressive Farmers of Washington, a communist endorsed farm organization.) The following poem appeared in the December 31, 1926 issue of the "The New Magazine" supplement of "The Daily Worker":

"I am for Revolution.

"I am for revolution; revolution so profound
That nowhere will the profiteer or plunderer be found,
But State and Church and Press and School will all be owned and manned,
By Labor, - Union Labor - the lord of every land.

"I am for revolution; revolution now and here,
All the land for all the people; what is there in that to fear?
The tools for those who use them, the homes for them that build,
And all the banks for all the folks by whom their vaults are filled.

"I am for revolution; though it come with fearsome feet;
If the people will not save themselves until they cannot eat,
Until their first-born perish, as when Pharaoh would not hear,
Then welcome woe itself if so the morning draweth near.

"I am for revolution, say what will the canting folks
Whose peace itself is violence, their law a lying hoax;
We will no harm to anyone, we will the good of all,
But we want the revolution, whosoever stand or fall.
" - Robert Whitaker."

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RALPH CHAPLIN born in Ames, Kansas. Went to work at age of 14. Studied art at the Chicago Art Institute, evening classes. Was a member of the Board of Directors of the Charles H. Kerr Publishing Company of Chicago (publishers of radical literature), 1908-13. Was assistant editor of the "Socialist and Labor Star" of Huntington, W. Va. 1912-13 and edited "Industrial Solidarity" (official I.W.W. weekly paper) in 1916. During the "draft" he was sentenced to twenty years in Leavenworth under the Espionage act for seditious activities and served one year in Cook County jail awaiting trial and entered Leavenworth prison in August 1918. His release was obtained on bail in 1920 and he attended the trial of the Centralia I.W.W.'s who shot American Legion men at an Armistice Day celebration and parade in Centralia, Wash. He is a poet as well as an artist. Many of his cartoons appear in "Red Cartoons", a book of cartoons issued by "The Daily Worker" each year. He is possessed of a very likeable personality and is a forceful speaker, and is active lecturing for the International Labor Defense. He appeared as one of the principal speakers at a mass protest meeting to raise funds for political prisoners at Bowen Hall, Hull House, Chicago, on March 13, 1927. Prof. Robert Morris Lovett was the other speaker. This meeting was held under the auspices of the General Relief Union of the I.W.W. His utterances were stunted at this meeting because he is not a totally free man as yet, being on probation to the government.

EUGENE V. DEBS now deceased was the leader of the Socialist Party who served 30 years in prison also for seditious utterances.

ROBERT W. DUNN was born in Huntingdon, Pa., in 1895. Educated at Yale and is a fellow of the New School for Social Research in New York City. He was president of the Collegiate Anti-Militarism League from 1916-18; president of the Yale Chapter of the Intercollegiate Socialist Society (now League for Industrial Democracy) 1917-18; secretary of the Union of Democratic Control, 1918; general organizer for the Amalgamated Textile Workers in 1919-20; secretary, New England Civil Liberties Union, 1920; did research work for the Amalgamated Textile workers in 1921. Served as publicity director for the American Friends Service Committee in Russia, 1921-23; handled publicity for the Russian American Industrial Corp. 1923; was acting director of the American Civil Liberties Union from June to October, 1923, and is a member of the National Committee of the American Civil Liberties Union. He is a member of the National Committee of The India Freedom Foundation, Inc. and is one of the directors of the American Fund for Public Service (Garland Fund); member of the Joint Committee for Passaic Defense. He is a writer for the "Federated Press" (official news gathering agency of the Workers (Communist) Party of America) and is a regular contributor to "The Daily Worker" (official organ of the Workers (Communist) Party of America). He also writes for the "New Masses", "The Nation" and "Labor Age". He is an enemy of "company unions" and many of his articles are on this subject. He wrote a pamphlet, "Company Unions" which is a standard piece of Communist literature advertised, endorsed and sold by the Communists. Wm. Z. Foster wrote the preface and last chapter of "Company Unions". He is also an instructor in the Workers' School in New York conducted by the Workers (Communist) Party of America and treasurer of the Committee of One Hundred for the Defense of the Imprisoned Needle Trade Workers, an organization to provide funds for the Communists arrested in connection with the ousting of the Reds from the Needle Trades organizations.

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His name appears as a member of the Sacco-Vanzetti Conference Committee of Chicago.

is the [redacted] for the American Negro Labor Congress which is the Communist organization amongst negroes. He is a prolific writer and has contributed many articles on negroes to "The Daily Worker". The following article appeared in "The National Republic" of April-May, 1926:

"A thousand Negro workers crowded a Boston auditorium to hear a recent address [redacted] who is endeavoring to stir American Negroes to revolt against the American form of government. The American Negro has no more dangerous enemy than the alien agitator who attempts to identify him with revolutionary activities against the United States government."

A report by [redacted] states as follows:

[redacted] column, who [redacted] gain first-hand instructions and the head of the Communist organization known as the American Negro Labor Congress, is now traveling through Ohio and Pennsylvania holding Communist meetings at which the Negroes are invited to attend. . . At that time, further, [redacted] announced (to his close followers only, not publically) that Cyril V. Briggs, supreme head of the African Blood Brotherhood in New York was to be shifted to Chicago for more intense work among the Negroes, and to become the editor of the 'Negro Champion', the mouthpiece of the Communist colored people. It will be recalled that the first convention of the American Negro Labor Congress held in Chicago, did not receive the support of organized labor, and that organized labor has several times exposed the Communist control of this movement."

Excerpts from a letter issued under date of November 15, 1926, by him states speaking of the Congress of Oppressed Nations recently held in Brussels:

"This conference will be of the uttermost importance to the Negro people of America as well as to all other oppressed races of the world. More than four hundred organizations in the various colonial countries and in addition, several governments of semi-colonial countries, have endorsed the conference and pledged to send delegates. This conference of colonial and semi-colonial people at Brussels promises to be perhaps the most historical gathering since the Versailles conference. It goes without saying its political significance will be far-reaching. . . The Negro problem in America is the outgrowth of capitalistic exploitation; and the Negroes' political and social status in America is no different from that of the Indian in the British Empire, the Korean and Japanese society, or the African native in the social estimate of the ruling classes of Europe. It is planned that four delegates from America should attend the Brussels conference representing the American Negro people."

This Brussels Congress of Oppressed Nations was organized under instructions from Moscow and Communist-controlled. Richard Moore was the American Negro Labor Congress delegate.

[redacted] has lectured all over the United States to large audiences and his most famous lecture is known as [redacted] which is full of cleverly camouflaged Communist doctrine. He secured his Communist education in Moscow under the tutelage of leading Communists of the Communist Third International.

HARRISON GEORGE was born in Oakley, Kansas in 1888 and comes from pre-revolutionary war stock. He was in the United States Post Office Service as messenger, clerk and carrier for ten years and discharged for radicalism in 1913. Joined the Socialist Party in 1910 and was expelled with the Left wing in 1913. Following this, he joined the I.W.W. and in 1916 organized the Mesaba Range Miners' strike. He was arrested in 1917 for seditious activities and obstructing the "draft" while editing an I.W.W. paper. Sent to Leavenworth in 1918 where he served for two years and was released on an appeal bond in 1920. He joined the United Communist Party and edited the "Industrial Unionist". Was sent back to prison in 1921 and released again in 1923 on completion of his term. He was a delegate from the I.W.W. to the Red International of Labor Unions congress in 1924. He is one of the editors of "The Daily Worker" and has been active promoting Communism in Latin America. He attended the conference of Marine Workers in Montivideo in 1926. On August 6, 1926, George gave a talk before the Liberal Club of the University of Chicago on "The Press and Publishing in Russia" in which he lauded Russian institutions and Communism, and damned capitalism and the capitalist press in America. He is also writing for "Labor Unity", a new semi-monthly publication edited by the Communist Earl Browder.

ALICE STONE BLACKWELL was born in East Orange, N.J. in 1857. Educated as a journalist and edited "Woman's Journal" in Boston until 1927 when it was consolidated with two other journals and called the "Woman Citizen" to which she has been a contributor. She writes extensively on woman suffrage and is honorary president of the Massachusetts League of Women Voters. She is active in the American Friends of Russian Freedom and is a member of the advisory council of Commonwealth College at Mena, Arkansas.

ROBERT MINOR was born in San Antonio, Texas in 1884. He was a member of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, 1902-5; member of the Press Writers' Union; member of the Central Committee of the Socialist Party of St. Louis in 1910. He aided in the organization of the International Workers Defense League in 1916; was publicity director for Tom Mooney and his co-defenders in the San Francisco "bomb case" prosecutions growing out of the 1916 street car strike. He was arrested in Paris, France, in 1919 for advising French railroad unionists to strike against shipment of munitions to Soviet Russia. He was confined in an American military prison in Coblenz, Germany, for several weeks and released after the signing of the treaty at Paris. He was editor of "The Liberator" until that magazine was merged into "The Workers Monthly" in 1924. He was a member of the executive committee of the Communist Party of America from 1921-22; member of the Central Executive Committee of the Workers Party, 1922-3. Indicted for attending the Bridgman, Michigan Communist convention in 1923; member of the executive committee of the Friends of Soviet Russia. He was a member of the Peoples Legislative Service. "The National Republic" of January, 1926 states:

"That the communist international at Moscow expects definite results from the effort to spread bolshevism among American Negroes is evidenced by the choice of Robert Minor as chairman of the National Committee for Negro Agitation. Ludwig C. K. Martens pronounces Minor 'the ablest exponent of bolshevism in America'. Minor is the son of a Texas judge who was tried by court martial at Coblenz for distributing bolshevist literature among American soldiers. It is believed that he was saved from conviction by political influence exerted in his behalf, Colonel House having previously prevented his being shot by American officers in Germany because of his activities in fomenting mutiny. Minor openly expressed

his desire for the overthrow of the United States government at a meeting of the Intercollegiate Socialist Society in 1920. He recently announced at Los Angeles plans for promoting the growth of the revolutionary communist party in the United States. In each of twenty-five districts each year for four years a prize worth a minimum of \$500 will be awarded to the communist enrolling the largest number of members. Choice of the following prizes will be given: a trip to New York, where the communist land agent, Moscow representative, will present title to fifty acres of land in the Kazan Basin in Russia and transportation thereto; a two-year scholarship in the Communist District School of Chicago, or \$500 in gold and stewardship over other communists in factories and mills for a period of one year. Under the comprehensive organization and educational program of the communists, five schools of instruction are functioning in five cities of California alone: Los Angeles, Oakland, San Diego, San Francisco and Santa Barbara. Minor states that important developments in the American communist movement are known at Moscow within twenty-four hours after they occur. This is handled through a secret functionary committee. Minor declared in a recent address to communists at Los Angeles that communists know their strength to a man, and are not just talking revolution, but carefully and scientifically preparing for it; that their plans are all worked out - when it will start and what is to be taken first."

"The National Republic" of February 1926 quotes Minor as writing in "The New Magazine" supplement of "The Daily Worker" of January 9th, 1926, as follows:

"The working class cannot obtain power through the acts of legislative bodies of the capitalist state but through revolutionary action outside of capitalist parliaments. . . . While it is true that the communists are not blood thirsty persons whose desires are expressed in a yearning to kill nevertheless the advanced revolutionary workers know that the revolution intervenes between the present and the attainment of their ideals."

He is alleged to have had practically entire charge of the Communist "underground" organization in this country before they came out in the open. In the early part of 1926 he was the editor of "The New Magazine" supplement of "The Daily Worker." A press report of March 18th, 1927, states as follows:

"Congratulating the International Society in the aid of revolutionary prisoners whose national day coincides with St. Patrick's day, [redacted] otherwise Robert Minor of New York, an American member of the executive committee of the Third International, says: 'Under your banner millions of laborers are struggling against the terrorist policies of the bourgeois government.'"

This report was direct from Moscow. A press report under date of April 21st states that American Communists in Moscow, headed by Robert Minor and [redacted] tomorrow will accompany the funeral urn containing the remains of Charles Ruthenberg, secretary of the American Workers Party, in the procession to the Kremlin.

[redacted] was a [redacted] at Christopher and Zeigler, Illinois in 1925.

[redacted] was a [redacted] and [redacted] for "The Daily Worker" in Minneapolis, Minn. He is an occasional contributor to "The Daily Worker" and in a subscription contest held under the name of "On To Moscow" he scored 1880 points. The prizes in this contest were to be a trip to Moscow.

[redacted] - no record.

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[REDACTED] is an I.W.W. and was formerly connected with the North West Defense Committee of the I.W.W. In the October 1926 issue of the "Labor Defender" appears [REDACTED] "The Spirit of the I.L.D. In Conference". [REDACTED] about the Second Annual Conference which was held in Chicago and states:

"All through the convention the keynote speech of Comrade Cannon was reflected: 'In a crusader like spirit we must build the I.L.D. Sacco and Vanzetti, the Centralia and California I.W.W. boys and all others must receive support. A real campaign to reach the proportions of the Mooney or [REDACTED] case, and greater if necessary, in order to get favorable results on these cases.' That was indeed the high spot in Comrade Cannon's speech."

ALEXANDER HOWAT is the former president of the Kansas district of the United Mine Workers. In a Federated Press Labor Letter, in an article of August 25th, 1926, Howat on his way back to Pittsburgh, Kansas, after spending several months in Soviet Russia, is quoted as follows:

"I spoke at a number of big coal mines in southern Russia when the collections for the British workers were taken. I told the miners that their action would not only help sustain the coal digger families in Great Britain in their fight against wage cuts and longer hours but that it would provide inspiration for labor men and women all over the world to demonstrate the unity of the organized workers against the owning class. The audience greeted these statements after they had been translated, with wild cheers."

Howat was indicted in Kansas for violation of the industrial court law, decision on which case was recently handed down by the court. An article appearing in "Industrial Solidarity" of December 8, 1926, states:

"Alexander Howat, speaking at Springfield, Illinois on November 28 before miners from sixteen mines in the vicinity of Springfield, declared that the United Mine Workers of America is facing grave danger. He called for nationalization of the mines and scored John L. Lewis, president of the organization, on the loss of two hundred thousand members in the last few years."

Howat was a supporter of the Communist candidate for president of the United Mine Workers of America, John L. Brophy.

[REDACTED] is a member of the National Committee of the United Farmers Educational League, a Communist farmers' organization headed by Alfred Knutsen, a Communist who has spent some time in Soviet Russia. He is also a member of the Advisory Council of Commonwealth College at Mena, Arkansas. A report on Meitren under date of October 21, 1926, states as follows:

"He is now busy organizing labor parties and keeping in touch with Communist headquarters here (Chicago). He was very active on the floor in the Communist-controlled convention in St. Paul in 1924 and which nominated William Bouck for vice president of the United States."

MAX BEDACHT is a member of the Central Executive Committee of the Workers (Communist) Party of America and is editor of "The Communist", successor to the "Workers Monthly" (official monthly magazine of the party. He is listed in the Lusk Report (official report of the committee appointed to investigate radical activities, by the State of New York) as a California member of the executive committee of the Communist Labor Party. He is a teacher in the [REDACTED] director of the Agitprop Department of [REDACTED]

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the Workers (Communist) Party of America. He is a prolific writer, contributing many articles to "The Daily Worker" and the Communist magazines. He spent some time in Soviet Russia prior to July 1926.

JOHN T. TAYLOR was born in Omaha, Nebraska in 1893. Served an apprenticeship in the printing trade with the "Kansas City Star" and worked at the trade for fifteen years. He joined the Socialist Party in 1910; Farmer-Labor Party in 1918. Has been president of the Allied Printing Trades Council of Detroit since 1920 and member of the executive board of the Detroit Federation of Labor since 1924. He has contributed to "The Daily Worker".

SCOTT NEARING was born in Morris Run, Pa., in 1883 and educated at University of Pennsylvania Law School. Also received a B.S. at the University and studied oratory at Temple University. He was secretary of the Pennsylvania Child Labor Committee 1905-07; instructor in economics at the University of Pennsylvania, 1906-14; instructor in economics at Swarthmore College 1908-13; professor of social sciences and dean of College of Arts and Sciences, Toledo University 1915-17; teacher and lecturer at Rand School of Social Science, New York from 1916-1926. He was chairman of the People's Council of America 1917-18; member of advisory council of Fellowship of Reconciliation; director of the American Fund for Public Service (Garland Fund); national committee of the American Civil Liberties Union; a director of "Labor Age"; national committee of the International Workers' Aid; member of the League for Industrial Democracy and the recently organized Committee of One Hundred for the Defense of Imprisoned Needle Trade Workers. The purpose of this last committee is to raise funds to secure the release of Communists convicted in the recent turmoil brought about by the ousting of "Reds" from the needle trade organizations. Nearing was discharged from the University of Pennsylvania for his radicalism, and his resignation was also requested by the Toledo University for the same reason. Recently his connection has been severed as instructor at the Rand School of Social Science because he became too radical even for this radical institution. He is now an instructor in the New York Workers' School of the Workers (Communist) Party of America. He has been barred from speaking before any but the most radical forums, and Communist or extreme radical meetings. He was in England in 1926 during the English Miners' Strike lending assistance to A. J. Cook, miner leader and Moscow agent. He is the author of many books and pamphlets all of which are standard Communist literature recommended, endorsed and sold by Communist distributing agencies. He also is a frequent contributor to radical publications such as "The Nation", "New Masses", "Labor Age" and "The New Student". At a meeting held on May 8, 1926, in the Play House at Washington, D. C., Scott Nearing addressed a meeting sponsored by the League for Industrial Democracy.

A report on this meeting states that although a fifty cent admission fee was charged, the hall was packed with Communists, anarchists, socialists and liberals. Nearing's text was "The Stability of the Russian Government". In this address he lauded the Soviet government and condemned everything American for which he was heartily applauded. He climaxed his talk by the statement: "It is our business to prepare America by propaganda to do what Russia did in 1917", which electrified the audience and brought forth tumultuous applause.

In an address before the Open Forum in Bloomington, Illinois, the first week in March, 1927, he stated that the American people were the most ignorant race in the world, not excepting the Hindu and Chinese and that "its newspapers are a complete blank and its industries are blind with power. Its

educational system is a mere tool of interests. Money is God. The American people are so dumb they will wake up some morning and find themselves at war. They will be dumfounded and wonder why." He offered Russia as a lesson and a solution for this condition. His latest pamphlet, "Dollar Imperialism" is a scathing denunciation of America and American business.

WM. MONTGOMERY BROWN was born in Orrville, Wayne County, Ohio in 1855. Created Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church of Arkansas in 1900. Deposed as bishop in October 1925 by the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church at New Orleans, La. He is now a bishop of the old Catholic Church. Following his expulsion from the church he wrote a book, "Communism and Christianity" in which he stated, "Banish God from the skies and capitalists from the earth." He is a member of the Workers (Communist) Party of America and national chairman of the International Workers' Aid, another so-called relief organization operating on instructions from Moscow. An article appearing in "The Daily Worker" of January 17, 1927, stated that Bishop Brown was to tour the west for the International Labor Defense Council. In a letter to the "New York Commercial" under date of July 26, 1926, Bishop Brown states:

"Though I am strongly opposed to armed rebellion, I do not plead the fact in my defense. I am a revolutionist. I am a Communist. But I insist that I am loyal to America and to its government, and that my loyalty to the Christian and to the Communist ideals in no way detracts from this loyalty. . . I believe that Communism is not the destruction of the American ideal. Communism is the fulfillment of Americanism."

His latest book, "My Heresy" is being advertised and sold by the Workers (Communist) Party of America.

WILLIAM F. DUNNE was born in Canada. He studied law and was a member of the British Columbia Workmen's Compensation Board; member of the Montana Legislature from 1918-20; he was formerly of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America and was a delegate to the American Federation of Labor in 1923 but was expelled from membership in the Workers Party. He was the editor of the Dubuque Montana Bulletin until 1924; is a member of the Central Executive Committee of the Workers Party and has been co-editor of "The Daily Worker" since its foundation in 1924. He was chairman of the American Delegation to the Fifth Congress of the Communist International in Moscow in 1924. While at the Communist Third International congress, Dunne was elected a member of the Comintern Control Committee. In 1925, he presided at a meeting of the Communist fraction of the Amalgamated Iron, Steel and Tin Workers at Youngstown, Ohio, the object of which was to create a special organizing department with national organizers elected by the rank and file and not appointed by officers. Intensive propaganda within the Amalgamated Association was to precede active steps for carrying out the Communist fraction's program. He has been a prolific writer for his paper, "The Daily Worker" and was a teacher in the Workers' School at Chicago until "The Daily Worker" was recently moved to New York. He is the author of pamphlet #4 of what is known as "The Little Red Library". In this pamphlet he deals with the subject of worker correspondents. In this pamphlet he states "Worker correspondents are WAR correspondents -- they tell of the class wars of its every sector and salient. An army of worker correspondents means a powerful Communist press. A powerful Communist means a powerful A powerful Communist party means the dictatorship of THE SOCIAL REVOLUTION."

Dunne is also one of the advisory committee of the Friends of Soviet Russia. He is a contributor to the "Labor Defender" and "The Workers Monthly", now known as "The Communist". He is one of the aggressive Communist leaders. His editorials and writings in "The Daily Worker" are all revolutionary in character.

[REDACTED] in addition to being a member of the national committee of the International Labor Defense is constantly found in the company of Communists and "Reds". A group of Communist liberals and socialists recently drew up a protest and forwarded same to the Polish Embassy in Washington protesting against the imprisonment of six thousand Communists accused of plotting for the overthrow of the Polish government. Amongst the signers of this document appeared the names of Upton Sinclair, Roger Baldwin, Robert Moras Lovett, Charlotte Anita Whitney, Wm. Bouck, [REDACTED] Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Robert W. Dunn, Ralph Chaplin, [REDACTED] and others. b5

[REDACTED] is listed in the Lusk Report in connection with a cablegram to Russia and for being connected with the International Social Revolutionary Group and member of the League for Amnesty of Political Prisoners. She is the International Labor Defense Council secretary in New York City and an occasional contributor to "The Daily Worker". Member of the Joint Committee for the Passaic Defense. An article in the October, 1926 issue of "Labor Defender" states as follows: b7C

[REDACTED] of New York City reported that the City of New York is just beginning to show what it can do. In the last Sacco-Vanzetti conference a good majority of the American Federation of Labor unions sent delegates as well as the I.W.W. and other independent labor groups." b7C

She is the one that organized the demonstration that was held on Wall Street against the Horthy government of Hungary.

[REDACTED] - no record. b7C

BENJAMIN GITLOW was born in 1891 in Elizabeth, N.J. He studied law. Was a clerk in a department store in Newark, N.J. where he helped organize the Retail Clerks' Union of which he became president. He was discharged from his position and blacklisted by the Merchants Association. He then became a clothing cutter and a member of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. Joined the Socialist Party in 1909 and was a delegate to the New York convention in 1910. He was elected to the New York Legislature in 1917 but was removed from office as a socialist in 1918. Joined the left wing of the Socialist Party and assisted in the organization of the Communist Labor Party. He was business manager of the publication "Revolutionary Age". Was editor and manager of "Voice of Labor" after John Reed left for Russia. Was editor of "Freiheit" (Jewish Communist paper). In 1919 he was arrested under the anti-sedition laws for articles published in "Revolutionary Age". He was sentenced to three years in prison. His case was appealed to the United States Supreme Court. He entered Sing Sing on February 1920 having the honor of being the first Communist to enter prison. On April 25, 1922, he was discharged on a certificate of reasonable doubt. He was returned to prison again September 7, 1922 and released again on December 14, 1922 on another certificate of reasonable doubt. This last time his discharge was pending an appeal to the United States Supreme Court on the constitutionality of the criminal anarchy law. Immediately following his last release, Governor Smith of New York gave Gitlow a full pardon. Decision on this case was handed down by the

Supreme Court of the United States on June 8, 1925 in which they stated that the New York criminal anarchy statute is not in violation of due process of law as a restraint of freedom of speech. The conviction of Gitlow was upheld. Gitlow was very active during the Communist-instigated Passaic strike. He is a director of the American Fund for Public Service. Was a candidate for Governor of New York on the Workers Party ticket, 1926. He is a member of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, American Civil Liberties Union and Friends of Soviet Russia. He is a frequent contributor to "The Daily Worker". In the October 14, 1926 issue of "The Daily Worker" appeared an article under the head of "Keep The Daily Worker" in which he stated:

"The Daily Worker is the one organ that in a jungle full of capitalist hyena papers supported by capitalist millions, fights the poison lies, calumny and invective that is hurled against the working class. Strike breakers, imperialist exploiters and working class blood suckers welcome the possibility of The Daily Worker's end."

Gitlow's mother, Mrs. Kate Gitlow, is an avowed Communist and is the President of the United Council of Workingclass Housewives, a Communist women's organization. In January 1917 Gitlow was expelled from the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union by Abraham Beckerman on instructions from the general executive board. The reasons for his expulsion were for being a member of the Trade Union Educational League, for being a Communist and for attacking the Amalgamated Clothing Workers' leadership at public meetings and in the press. This started the war which has been in progress amongst the needle trades since that time. He is one of the most fiery of the Communist speakers and is very active in addressing Communist meetings.

[redacted] is listed in the Lusk Report as being [redacted] of the Brotherhood of Metal Workers' Industrial Union which has for its motto: "The One and Big Union for All Workers in the Metal Industry". This organization published a metal paper, "The Metal Worker" which was [redacted]. He was also [redacted] of the Workers' Defense Union. He is [redacted] of the International Workers' Aid and is a contributor to "The Daily Worker".

[redacted] - no record.

JACOB DOLLA, - no record.

J. O. BENTALL is the district organizer for District #3 of the Workers (Communist) Party of America with headquarters at Philadelphia, Pa. He is a former Minnesota man, well educated and with considerable political experience. In 1924 he ran in the primaries in Minnesota for the nomination for Congress in the 8th district. He polled between five and six thousand votes. He also served a prison sentence in Leavenworth during the war. Was very active during the Passaic strike and arrested in Garfield, N.J. on a charge of contempt of court but upon apologizing to the court he was released with a warning. He is a more or less regular contributor to "The Daily Worker".

WILLIAM BOUCK is a member of the national advisory committee from the State of Washington of the Western Progressive Farmers. Under his tutelage, this organization has developed into a national organization under the heading of the Progressive Farmers of America of which William Bouck is the national director. This is a secret farmers' organization which is operating as a farmer branch of the Communist Party. In 1916-20 he was master of the Washington Grange but was [redacted] national body on charges of radicalism. His expulsion resulted

in his organizing the Western Progressive Farmers. He was a delegate to the St. Paul convention of the Farmer-Labor Party held in May 1924 where he was nominated for Vice President of the United States but withdrew in favor of LaFollette. His running mate at this convention was Duncan MacDonald of Illinois who was very prominent in the United Mine Workers of America circles. This convention was Communist-controlled and openly guided from the floor by Wm. Z. Foster and C. E. Ruthenberg, the two high priests of Communism in America. Bowk is also a member of the advisory committee of the Commonwealth College at Mena, Ark.

CLARENCE DARROW was born in Kinsman, Ohio, in 1857. Was admitted to the bar in 1875. He was first attorney for the Chicago Northwestern Railway in a case against the gas trust in Chicago. He was chief counsel for the anthracite miners in the coal strike arbitration at Scranton, Pa. and Philadelphia in 1902-3. He was a counsel in the Debs' strike case and also counsel for the McNamara brothers in the Los Angeles Times dynamite case in 1911 where he was indicted for the alleged bribery of a juror in this case but was acquitted after a trial lasting from May 15 to August 17, 1912. He was attorney for the defense in the Moyer-Haywood-Pettibone case. Elected to the Illinois Legislature in 1902. He is an avowed agnostic and has written a number of books full of agnosticism. He is a member of the national committee of the American Civil Liberties Union. He has been in the limelight for his radicalism and his defense of radicals wherever the opportunity presents itself. He received much publicity for his defense of John D. Scopes in the spectacular Scopes "ape" trial at Dayton, Tenn. He offered his services gratis on this case as soon as he heard that Wm. J. Bryan had offered his services for the prosecution. He is also an advocate of social equality for the negroes. He has a total disregard for laws and while in Mobile, Ala., during March he narrowly escaped being manhandled by a mob for the alleged statement, "I can't help you but you will have to help yourselves, but I advise an attitude of defiance toward the white man who calls himself your 'friend'." How has he manifested his friendship," when he spoke before the Negro Industrial School at Daphne, Ala. He is a member of the national committee of the India Freedom Foundation, another organization devoted to the purpose of obtaining citizenship for Hindus and others in the United States contrary to law. He aroused a good deal of sentiment recently when making an address in Boston, Mass., when he made the statement that "The State of Massachusetts ought to go into the hands of a receiver for keeping Jesse Pomeroy in prison for fifty years." Pomeroy was convicted when fourteen years old for horrible assaults on little children resulting in the death of two. He is also a member of the national committee of the International Committee for Political Prisoners; although not openly a member of the Communist Party he is constantly in association with prominent Communists and has spoken at Communist meetings a number of times and is looked upon by the Communists as a friend of Communism.

* * * * *

INTERNATIONAL LABOR
DEFENSE COUNCIL -
E. A. JUSO -
APRIL 19, 1927.

DOLLA is a foreigner, born in Hungary. He was employed as a skilled worker at the Lebanon Iron Company and during the steel strike of 1919 was exceedingly active in organizing foreigners in the mills for the strike. He joined the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers and became a captain of the picket force at the mills. When a house was dynamited at that place, Dolla was arrested with four other men, pleaded guilty and was sentenced to twelve to seventeen years in the penitentiary. Nothing was known of his case until some Communist papers started agitation for his release, claiming that he was framed by the steel company, neglected by his union and betrayed by his lawyer as there was sufficient proof of his innocence. Some of the Federation of Labor conventions in Pennsylvania passed resolutions for his release. International Labor Defense and the American Civil Liberties Union became active on his behalf and in July, 1924, the Pardon Board released him.

FLETCHER was one of the defendants in the Chicago I.W.O. trial of 1921. Over one hundred members of the Industrial Workers of the World were charged with criminal syndicalism. He was released from the Federal Penitentiary in 1923. There is no record of his activity in the last few years.

 in 1924 was of the Workers' National Prison Committee, Milwaukee, Wisconsin which was organized for the purpose of sending gifts and letters to political prisoners. She used to publish newspapers of birthdays of such prisoners and invited readers to send money. The "Labor Defender" (official organ of the International Labor Defense) of September 1926 announced that had held meetings, distributed Sacco-Vanzetti leaflets and the "Labor Defender" number of picnics. at the second conference of the International Labor Defense, held in Chicago in September 1926.

 is a Jew Communist and "The Daily Worker" reported his activities amongst Jews of Chicago for the time being in the elections held that year. He addressed a meeting on behalf of the Foster-Bittow campaign and acted as Chairman. He is reported as having said:

"The LaFollette movement in this country may be compared to the movement in England of which I am a member. It is based on the support of the party. It is the only way to win the support of the people."

17652

HARRY A. JUNG

SUITE 1007
133 WEST WASHINGTON STREET
CHICAGO

Mr.
Jung
1927

62-12299

Mr. J. E. Hoover,
Bureau of Investigation,
Department of Justice,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

By all means get "Pro-
fessional Patriots" by Norman Hapgood,
published by Albert and Charles Hall -
price \$1.50. It is a fine book of informa-
tion that you stand you in good stead at
some future time. It should be in your
personal library. It is endorsed by the
country's leading "patriot" publications.

Find herewith a reel are
covering Norman Thomas (do not confuse
with Norman Hapgood.)

Also a batch of literature
from the American Friends Service Committee.
Look this over carefully, as you will find a
number of bald misstatements made by these so-
called non-believers in force. Their philosophy
is the result of complacency induced by cowardice
and a smoke screen to hide their shrinking fear.

Sincerely,

H.A. Jung

H.A./22

3 Encls.

A.S.B.

out
mark

MAY 11 1927

Reply
5/10/27

RECORDED & INDEXED

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BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION	
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MEMORANDUM ON
NORMAN THOMAS -
BY H.A. JUNG -
MAY 2ND, 1927.

Norman Thomas was born in Morton, Ohio, in 1884. He was educated at Princeton University and the Union Theological Seminary following which he was pastor of several Presbyterian churches. He was formerly editor of "The World Tomorrow" and was associate editor of "The Nation". He is an editor of "The New Leader" (official organ of the Socialist Party of America); executive director of the League for Industrial Democracy, formerly the Intercollegiate Socialist Society; member of the National Committee of the American Civil Liberties Union; director of the American Fund for Public Service (Garfield Fund); chairman of the Emergency Committee for Strikers' Relief (organized to raise funds for the Communist strikers of Passaic); contributor to "The New Student" (radical inter-collegiate weekly). He was socialist labor party candidate for Governor of New York in 1934; member of the executive committee of the Pioneer Youth of America; a contributor to the "New Masses" (a lascivious radical publication which was barred from the mails); one of the original Labor Defense Council which was organized by the Communists for the defense of the Communists arrested for their participation in the Bridgman, Michigan raid. He is chairman of the recent organized Debs' Memorial Radio Fund Committee; member of the General Committee of the International Committee for Political Prisoners; member of the executive committee of the recently organized Citizens Committee of One Hundred to Aid the Pullman Porters; member of the Fellowship of Reconciliation; Committee of the Russian Reconstruction Fund; Committee on Academic Freedom; general committee member of the Peoples Legislative Council; lecturer at the Rand School of Social Science; member of the Conference for Progressive Political Action and Committee of the Peoples' Freedom Union.

Mr. Thomas is given a considerable amount of space in the last Report for his pacifist and defeatist activities and his connection with un-American movements.

R. M. Whitney, in his book, "Rods in America" stated that when James P. Cannon, who is now executive secretary of the International Labor Defense Council (Communist legal bureau) was selling stock for what was known as the Labor Film Service Company, an organization backed in part by Morris Hillquit he issued a letter regarding this organization which contained the following paragraphs:

"Our enterprise bears the endorsement of such prominent leaders as Norman Thomas, Rabbi Judah L. Magnes, Scott Nearing, [redacted] etc. We also have the endorsement of the Central Federated Union, United Hebrew Trades, Italian Chamber of Commerce, and other labor organizations."

R. M. Whitney, in his pamphlet, "LaFollette, Socialism, Communism" quotes the following excerpts from the book, "The Challenge of War" by Norman T. "The top root of war is economic."

"Nationalism is in this day and generation the most powerful social emotion. It requires for its full fervor rivals to surpass or excite to fear and hate."

Patriotism is essentially war-like, invoked a hundred times to rally the nation against other nations, for every time it is mentioned as a reason for improving the lot of the downtrodden within the national borders. . . .

"The particular form of modern trade which tends directly to promote war is the trade of armaments by private interests. In time of peace armament makers know neither patriotism nor principle.

"Capitalism is still dominant. Yet capitalism, especially of the individualistic sort, has already passed the zenith of its power.

"Whatever may be said of the success or failure of the Russian economic experiment, politically the Soviet government has worked miracles. When one remembers the chaotic condition of the Russia of 1917-18, the magnitude of the achievement becomes apparent. Russia already is a force to be reckoned with in world politics, and that not alone because of the appeal its communist government makes to workers in other lands, but because Russia as a nation has become strong, aggressive and powerful.

"Nicaragua is a fief of Brown Brothers and J.A.W. Seligman. They control the government's railroads, its customs and its finances. Guatemala is a special preserve of Blair & Co. Our obliging State Department has marines on call to protect 'law and order' - that is, investments - in both republics.' (There follows mention of Costa Rica, the Republic of Panama, Peru, Bolivia, Mesopotamia, Mexico, Philippines, Haiti and Santo Domingo.)

"The slogan 'No More War' is good, yet from one viewpoint it is misleading. We do not now have peace. Life is organized on a war basis. Diplomacy is a war game. War itself is only the acute manifestation of a chronic disease. We have been concerned with the clash between nations. That is not the only source from which war comes. It may ultimately prove to be not the chief source of danger. There is the growing anger of the brown and black races against their white masters and exploiters. There is the clash between those who own the resources and implements which all men need, and those who have only their labor of hand or brain to sell. Many of those who claim property rights are absentee owners who contribute nothing to the industry on which they live, but who exercise power over it. . . . Can the world have peace under its present economic-political system?

"War cannot be outlawed as an isolated phenomenon, but only as part of a cooperative reorganization of society.

"The psychology of the profit system and the acquisitive society is not the psychology of peace."

"The Churchman" (radical weekly religious publication) of October 30th, 1936, in giving a resume of the conference of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, held at Watch Hill, R.I., stated:

"Norman Thomas emphasized the increase of violations at the heart of the industrial situation and laid on the group the necessity of active work to establish the validity of other methods.

"Then the conference broke up into four groups to work out in discussion how the Fellowship technique in those fields could be developed. Norman Thomas led one on the field of publicity through newspapers, magazines, pamphlets, radio and movie."

At a ten-day conference of pastors and church workers held at the Union Theological Seminary in New York City, Norman Thomas, as the guide, conducted a tour of these delegates which included the Rand School of Social Science Workers (Communist) Party of America headquarters in New York City at 108 E. 14th Street, I.V.W. Headquarters at 140 Broad Street, and finished the tour at the Anarchist Hall at 219 Second Avenue.

No. 3.

Rev. Thomas was very active in the Communist-instigated and conducted Passaic textile strike. The Chicago "Tribune" of April 16, 1936, states regarding his arrest for deliberately violating the riot act at Garfield, N.J., as follows:

"Norman Thomas, New York Socialist leader and former Presbyterian minister, who was arrested in Garfield when he sought to test the riot act, was released on \$10,000 bail today by Justice of the Peace Louis Margreaves after an effort was made to send him back to the Bergen county jail for another night on a technicality. Bail of \$10,000 was furnished by a surety company prior to Mr. Thomas' arraignment. When he was held to await the action of the grand jury, Thomas started to leave the office under the impression that he was free on bail. A deputy sheriff, instead, told Thomas to accompany him to the county jail, explaining that the first \$10,000 bail did not cover the arraignment."

In the June, 1936 issue of the "New Masses" appeared an article by Mr. Thomas captioned "Lessons of Passaic". In this article he stated: "The Passaic strike will serve a doubly useful purpose for it impresses upon the workers one of the most flagrant evils of the capitalist system. I refer to the concealment of profits by strike dividends and the capitalization not of the savings of investors but of the legal right to exploit both consumers and wage workers. The whole woolen industry has been the greedy beneficiary of the subsidy that all of us have helped to pay by reason of tariff rates. The industry pays tragically low wages and expects the brunt of industrial depression to be borne by these underpaid workers. Yet in these years of prosperity the Botany mills alone increased their stock from 34,000 to 497,000 shares by a clever process of reorganizing the industry and dividing up its past surplus. It is on this swollen capitalization that the bosses seek to pay profits wrong from the workers."

A letter under date of May first, 1936, issued by the International Labor Defense Council over the signature of James P. Cannon, executive secretary, read in part as follows:

"As we have already informed you, a nation-wide campaign for the defense of the Passaic strike leaders now out on bail was being organized on a united front platform. Comrade Cannon has been in New York for a week toward the end of achieving this result. He informs the national office today that the joint committee has been formed, and that all the proposals were unanimously accepted. The following will be the basis of cooperation:

1. The joint committee shall consist of:
 International Labor Defense - J. P. Cannon.
 League for Industrial Democracy - Norman Thomas.
 Federated Press - Art Shields.
 Civil Liberties Union - [redacted]
 United Front Committee - Albert Weisbord.
 Passaic Strike Relief Committee - Alfred Wagenknecht.
 Emergency Committee for Strikers Relief - [redacted]
 Also Robert Dunn and Curley Flynn.
 Curley Flynn shall act as permanent secretary.
2. Joint Committee to act as clearing house and agency to coordinate the work of the cooperating organizations and to signify united action.
3. ILD to have full charge of all strike cases. Civil Liberties Union to handle all free speech and civil rights cases.
4. Each organization determine policy of cases it handles.
5. Each organization raises funds, conducts publicity, routes speakers under their own auspices by authority of the joint committee.

b7c

No. 4.

6. We hire all lawyers and pay all expenses on our cases with the cooperating organizations helping financially.
7. We issue at once a well illustrated pamphlet by Mary Heaton Vorse and begin a nation-wide appeal for funds."

A pamphlet, "That is the American Civil Liberties Union" issued by the American Defense Society, states as follows:

"Norman Thomas, member of the National Committee of the American Civil Liberties Union said that he had taken part in hundreds of strikes and that none of them were like the one now going on in Passaic, that this strike not only had the makings of a good strong union but that later on they would not bother with strikes but that they would run their own State, and, later on, run the State of New Jersey and then the Nation. March 4th, 1936."

An Associated Press Labor Letter under date of June 30, 1926, contained the following statement:

"We can assure all those who give to the relief of the Passaic strikers, whether out of understanding of the importance of their cause or out of pity for the hunger of thousands of little children, that any money that they may give will be administered economically, efficiently and honestly and applied only to the legitimate purposes of the conduct of a strike in which relief is almost the sole item of expense. ELIZABETH GURLEY FLINN. NORMAN THOMAS."

In the October, 1926 issue of "The World Tomorrow" appears an article by Mr. Thomas entitled "So this is Nationalism". In this article he reviews Carlton J. E. Hayes' "Panama or Nationalism" and states that nationalism "is patriotic snobbery".

An American Civil Liberties Union Bulletin #225 of November 18, 1926, states as follows:

"A joint committee for the defense of Passaic strike leaders and strikers has been formed by the American Civil Liberties Union and the International Labor Defense. This committee will assume the direction and the financial support of cases now pending in the New Jersey courts. Included are the cases of Albert Weisbord, under indictment for seditious utterances, and of several strikers against the civil authorities for false arrest and atrocious assault. Among the members of the committee are Louis Budenz, editor of 'Labor Age', [redacted] of the International Labor Defense, Robert Dunn of the A.C.L.U., [redacted] of the Emergency Committee for Strikers' Relief, [redacted] Norman Thomas, Arthur Garfield Hays, Morris L. Ernst and [redacted] b7c

An article appearing in "Industrial Solidarity" of December 23, 1926 reports on a big strike meeting held on December 19, 1926, in Belmont Park Casino Garfield, N.J. as follows:

"Dr. Norman Thomas, who was one of those arrested during the first weeks of the struggle, was present to congratulate the strikers upon their victories and praised the splendid spirit of solidarity which had made these victories possible. Louis Budenz, editor of Labor Age, was also present."

"The New Leader" of January 29, 1937, states that Norman Thomas, Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, Hubert Herring and either Senator Wheeler or Senator Dill were booked as speakers at the Lyric Theater, New York City, at a mass meeting held January 30, 1937, to protest against the occupation of Nicaragua by the marines and to demand peace with Mexico.

No. 5.

In an article in "American Appeal" of February 5, 1936, under the caption of "Socialism", Norman Thomas states:

"I am opposed to the secular Jesuitism of Communism. I am opposed to its catastrophic theory of salvation, that is, the notion that we are inevitably headed to some sort of great disaster probably new world war, after which will come world revolution. So terrible are the consequences of modern warfare on so great a scale that a new Dark Ages would be a more likely consequence of such war than an orderly Communist dictatorship rising eventually to an emancipated world. Perhaps we cannot avoid the great catastrophe to which the working out of capitalism in these international aspects logically leads. I believe in trying. And in trying I am willing to cooperate with liberals or Communists."

The "New York Times" of February 23, 1927, in giving a report on the Washington Birthday Conference of the Church League for Industrial Democracy states as follows:

"Mr. Thomas said the United States could not long endure 'half industrial autocracy and half political democracy'. He praised the work of the labor unions and said that another Gettysburg address could be written on the unknown heroes of labor who 'suffered calumny and exile so that their ideas of economic liberty might not perish from the earth'."

Mr. Thomas was also very active in the recent paper boxmakers' strike in New York which received much publicity because of the rioting and disorder in connection with it and he, with a number of other radicals, made frequent protests to the police department on behalf of the strikers. This strike was largely Communist.

At a meeting of the Chicago Chapter of the League for Industrial Democracy held at the Y.W.C.A. headquarters, Chicago, Illinois, Mr. Thomas made the principal address. He stated in part as follows:

"No one believes that the old political parties will ever bring about the desired changes, and I am often asked what could be done. I believe that at present the great need is for workers to educate the people and awaken them from their state of apathy. There is an outcry now against the activities of the American Civil Liberties Union of which I am a member, because they have defended the rights of citizens which have been guaranteed them by the Constitution. Imperialism is rampant. No nation in history has ever been guilty of a more imperialistic policy than the United States is now pursuing in Nicaragua, in Mexico, and our other colonies, at the behest of the capitalists who have made investments in those countries."

"What is needed is a real labor party comprising all workers, the workers in the factories, on the farms, that will change our governmental system. We do not need a dictatorship such as that of Lenin, or of Mussolini. I do not believe in salvation by catastrophe and perhaps the dictatorship of Mussolini has been preferable to that of Lenin. What we need is more push, more workers to stimulate action along lines that we can follow to improve our present situation while educating our fellowmen, with a real labor party as our objective. We can work to stop war, for old age and ill health, pensions for workers, and to wipe out slums in which workers are congregated in our big cities. New York, which is my home, is probably the richest city in the world and yet, while European cities have spent millions of dollars to wipe out their slums and replace them with sanitary buildings at reasonable rents for workers, New York, which has, I believe, the worst slums in the world, does nothing but talk about it and takes no action. People should be taught to think of earnest constructive things and to get away from the jass and set age now existing as a reaction from the world war."

In concluding an article captioned "How the American Nation Is Being Militarized" which appeared in the January 20th, 1927 issue of "American Appeal", Mr. Thomas states:

"Let us rapidly review the situation in America today. Economic imperialism is rampant. At any moment some untoward event in Mexico may set in train events that lead to war. The espionage laws are still on the statute books ready for use in time of national emergency. Under the hypocritical guise of urging that wealth be not allowed to escape in the next war a bill is now pending before Congress which seeks to 'control' wealth, but absolute 'conscripts' all workers in the event of war. Meanwhile pending the arrival of the great emergency our choicest young men are being taught to accept, if not to like, the war system with its cynical view of the possibilities of international cooperation and peace. Labor's progress is menaced as well as the hope of peace. A Munitions Battalion has been formed not to train soldiers in the field but to wage industry. An Assistant Secretary of War MacNider told that great open shop organization, the National Association of Manufacturers, the graduate of this Munitions Battalion 'will always think of industry in relation to the army's problem.' Labor men who want to think of industry in terms of human problems see in such a boast a menace to all our hopes. Such is militarism in its American form. We will fight it? How long will the farmers and workers be fooled into acquiescence or partial approval? Today American militarism menaces the poor folk of Nicaragua and Mexico. Tomorrow it will menace our own sons and brothers. Military training, as a labor leader approvingly told me, may teach the boys 'to walk straight', but at the last the spirit of militarism and imperialism, twin demons now abroad in our land, can only teach our boys to walk straight along the road that leads to a literal hell."

A letter from Mr. Thomas was reprinted in the March 23, 1927 issue of "Illini" of Urbana, Illinois, in which he condemned the patriotic societies and their activities and concluded with the following statement:

"Because I prize the spirit of thought and inquiry in our universities I want to direct it to those prejudices which stand in the way of the finest religion and patriotism and that loyalty to mankind which is the hope of peace."

In the "New Leader" of April 23, 1927, appeared an article by Norman Thomas captioned "Sacco and Vanzetti Must Be Saved!" in which he states as follows:

"Governor Fuller of Massachusetts should be deluged with letters and telegrams urging him to appoint the impartial commission to hear the evidence in the Sacco and Vanzetti case which has been asked for by their Defense Committee. On this request coming from those most responsible for the conduct of the defense we must unite. It is a tragic reproach to American justice in general and Massachusetts justice in particular that such an extralegal method must be taken. I still do not believe that the Supreme Court was rigidly required by the law of Massachusetts to make the decision which it made. . . ."

It is noticeable that at the beginning of this article he uses virtually the same words as the Communists used in pamphlets circulated throughout the country namely, "Governor Fuller of Massachusetts should be deluged with letters and telegrams." Following the war, Norman Thomas wrote a book entitled "The Conscientious Objector in America". The preface to this book was written by Robert M. LaFollette. Thomas, throughout this whole book, lauds and glorifies the slackers and pacifists who denounced the war and served prison sentences rather than take part in the war.

While Mr. Thomas claims that he does not support Communist doctrine yet he is constantly associated with members of the Communist Party and can genuinely be identified with things Communist and more than makes good on his statement that he is willing to "work with" the Communists.

HARRY A. JUNG
SUITE 1007
133 WEST WASHINGTON STREET
CHICAGO

2
May
Ten
1927

Mr. J. E. Hoover,
Bureau of Investigation,
Department of Justice,
Washington, D.C.

My dear Mr. Hoover:

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
NOTIFIED BY ROUTING
SLIP(S) OF
DATE

Find enclosed herewith
April 14 issue of *Inprekorr*, which,
as you already know, is the official
news-transmitting agency of the Soviet
Union, published at Vienna. I sent
an identical copy, also marked as per
the one enclosed, to Governor Fuller
of Massachusetts.

With kind personal regards

Sincerely,

H.A. Jung

RECORDED & INDEXED

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7/23/82 BY SP10BJA/omj
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Encl.
R.S.C.

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BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
MAY 12 1927 A.M.
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
Div. Two

HARRY A. JUNG
SUITE 1007
133 WEST WASHINGTON STREET
CHICAGO

May
Fifth
1927

My dear Friends:

The attached communication from
the [REDACTED] of
the Commission on International Justice and
Goodwill of the Federal Council of the Churches
of Christ in America, addressed to [REDACTED]
and [REDACTED] reply separately,
speak for themselves.

b7C

With [REDACTED] permission you
may use these communications in any way you
see fit and proper. You will note that [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] did not permit the [REDACTED] to
wiggle out of his announced position and in
connection therewith, the Military Intelli-
gence Association will send out a mimeographed
release of the entire correspondence, including
these two letters herewith, authorizing repro-
duction. A copy of the full correspondence will
be sent you at an early date.

b7C

Sincerely yours,

H.A. JUNG

Encls.

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DATE 7/23/82 BY SP6BJA/omh
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(C O P Y)

(LETTERHEAD OF THE FEDERAL COUNCIL OF
THE CHURCHES OF CHRIST IN AMERICA)

New York

May 6, 1937

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

b7C

My dear [REDACTED]

b7C

Your letter of April 25 I assure you entirely misinterprets the policies, programs and relations of the Federal Council, as has been made clear by public statements and editorials, of which I enclose copies.

If you will read the Porter resolution adopted by Congress you will see that the action of the Administrative Committee of the Federal Council is in complete agreement with the policies of the Government therein advocated.

If, therefore, the Federal Council is open to the charges you make concerning "aid given to the enemies of the United States", then Congress and President Coolidge are open to the same charges.

I feel that you entirely misunderstand and misrepresent my country's spirit and policies of goodwill to China and its people.

Yours truly,

(signed) [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

b7C

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DATE 7/23/87 BY SP-6BJH/and
C249 698

May 1937

[REDACTED]
Federal Council of Churches of Christ,
612 United Charities Building,
105 E. 22d Street, New York.

My Dear [REDACTED]

Your letter of May 4, with enclosures, is just at hand and I have read both the letter and the enclosures that came with it carefully before adding them to my files for the record and for future reference.

I am frank to say that I cannot see that my letter of April 25 "misinterprets the policies, programs and relations of the Federal Council" as it merely quotes your statement in your letter of April 22 that the Federal Council "takes all its actions without any reference whatever to the policy or program of any other body or person, whether in the United States or any other country, excepting the church bodies".

If the Federal Council takes its actions "without reference whatever to the policy or program of any other body or person, whether in the United States or any other country, excepting the church bodies" that certainly states most emphatically that the action is taken without regard to the policy or program of President Coolidge or Secretary of State Kellogg who are certainly persons and who are certainly not "church bodies" and likewise without reference to the program of Congress which certainly is a body within the United States though not a church body.

Your injection of the reference to the Porter resolution is entirely extraneous. It is extraneous in the first place because your letter of April 22 specifically states that the Federal Council takes all its actions "without any reference whatever to the policy or program of any other body or person".

It is extraneous in the second place because the Constitution of the United States, Article II, Section 3, Sub-section 3, vests the foreign policy of the United States of America in the President, acting by and through the Secretary of State and other properly designated officials and with treaties that may be negotiated by him to be approved by the Senate. The Porter resolution therefore is merely an expression of the opinion of the majority of Congress and your letter states that the Federal Council acts without reference to the policy or program of any other body except church bodies.

Your reference to the Porter resolution is extraneous on the third ground that it does not answer the questions I submitted in my original letter of April 7, the gist of which may be re-summarized as follows:

1. Did you know of the Lenin thesis presented to the second congress of the Communist International, from which I quoted in my letter of April 7, prior to the action taken by the Administrative Committee of the

... is the basis of this action is it a mere coincidence that the action of the Federal Council of Churches checks completely with the program of the Communist International in China as laid down by Lenin and as followed without a break?

3. If you did not know these facts, which are common knowledge to students of the movement, by what authority do you claim to advise the 22,000,000 members of the Protestant churches that you claim constituent members of the Federal Council of the course of action that should be pursued?

I am doing what I can to get the complete record of our correspondence before as many people as possible and am perfectly willing to let the record speak for itself.

In order to make certain that you have the fact and because I feel that it is germane to the subject we have been discussing because it shows that the Communist International is undeviatingly following the Lenin program I wish to call your attention to the fact that last week the so-called Hankow government, Communist controlled, and from which Chiang Kai-Shek has apparently split away, cabled Communist headquarters in the United States to push the "Hanks Off China" program. You will find the cable printed in the Daily Worker, official Communist organ, issue of May 3, 1927, page 3.

Let it be of record that you now have the fact.

Sincerely,

b7c

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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 7/23/82 BY SP-6BJA/wh



ORGANIZ WILLIAM FOR WI

BECAUSE Mayor Dever is a union man.

BECAUSE During his ten years as alderman he always was our friend.

BECAUSE In his thirteen years as judge he never granted an injunction in a labor dispute when other judges were issuing them right and left.

BECAUSE All business men having confidence in his administration were willing and did carry on a huge building program which provided four years good time for the workers.

BECAUSE His re-election will mean a continuance of plenty of work and good wages for all.

BECAUSE His opponent was placed on the unfair list of the Chicago Federation of Labor on account of his

BECAUSE Dever used all the powers of his administration to be helpful to the workers, unlike his opponent who went the limit to assist the Landis Award Committee to try to wreck the Building Trades Unions.

BECAUSE Dever is opposed to the importation of undesirable labor for the purpose of breaking down the working conditions and wages of Chicago labor.

DEVER FOR MAYOR TF

VICTOR A. OLANDER, Chairman
AGNES NESTOR, Vice Chairman

WILLIAM C.
Exe

DEVER DI

62
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April 8, 1927

THE FEDERATION NEWS

D LABOR R E. DEVER AYOR Y?

BECAUSE Dever has recognized the right of the workers of a wage sufficient to live in accordance with American standards. This is shown by the increases granted to City employes during his administration.

BECAUSE During Mayor Dever's administration there has been an almost total lack of industrial disturbances such as prevailed during previous administrations.

BECAUSE Unlike his opponent, who helped to cut down the wages of street car men, Mayor Dever assisted the street car men with all the powers of his administration to secure increased wages.

Mayor Dever's Position

Capital and Labor have had long years of mutually destructive warfare. There is a rapidly growing belief, in America, at least, that this constituted a social error of the first rank. Employers now know that both individually and nationally prosperity depends upon as a first necessity a fair living wage to the worker, that he must be made not only a producing machine, but a consumer. Unless the worker is comfortably housed, clothed and well fed, and with a wage sufficient to provide these material things as well as to provide for the education of his children and an opportunity to enjoy life, national prosperity cannot endure. In the attainment of this end I faithfully promise my most active assistance.

William E. Dever, Mayor

DES UNION COMMITTEE

N, Chairman
ommittee

WILLIAM A. LEWIS, Secretary
DANIEL A. MANNING, Treasurer

DELIVER

**WHY ALDERMAN OSCAR F. NELSON, PATRICK
F. SULLIVAN, President of the Building Trades
Council, MICHAEL J. KELLY, President Meat
Cutters Union No. 546, THE COOK
COUNTY WAGE EARNERS LEAGUE
and the Majority of Local Unions
ARE SUPPORTING**

William Hale Thompson

FOR ELECTION AS MAYOR

Because during his eight years as Mayor he gave the trades unions of Chicago a square deal.

Because he was constructive—he did things—for all of Chicago.

Because he is opposed to the platoon or factory system of education and the curtailment of schooling for our children.

Because William E. Dever's Board of Education, by and with his approval, have instituted the platoon system and junior high schools, which are a curtailment of education, despite the protests of the Chicago Federation of Labor and thousands of parents.

Because WILLIAM HALE THOMPSON keeps in touch with and has the spirit of the mass of the people unlike William E. Dever, who is responsive only to the voice of George E. Brennan, Chicago Tribune and Daily News.

Because Dever's principal supporters are Donnelley, Patten, Julius Rosenwald, and twenty-five other members of the "Citizens Committee to Enforce the Landis Award." These opponents of Labor have taken Mayor Dever to their bosom because he has been their "Fair haired boy" during the past four years.

Because Dever fought the Brick Makers and passed the tile ordinance under the crack of the whip.

Because, the Technical Engineers were compelled to strike in order to get a living wage under Dever's administration.

Because Dever and his supporters are injecting the un-American issue of race and religion in this campaign. Dever's supporters—Big Business interests—will be the very ones to import undesirable labor and raise the issue of race and nationality to break down the trades union movement.

Because the Garbage Handlers have had to strike on two occasions during Dever's four years, and because Dever had their leader, Paul David, placed in jail for carrying on union activity.

Because Dever's 1925 traction ordinance was unanimously opposed by the Chicago Federation of Labor and declared "The biggest attempted steal in the history of American politics," and the people defeated it overwhelmingly.

Because Dever has not accomplished one constructive act during four years as Mayor. He has turned the Harbor problem over to the Commercial Club, the traffic problem to the Association of Commerce, the transportation problem to a Citizens Committee made up of State Street interests.

Because Dever now advocates the expenditure of the \$48,000,000.00 traction fund for a Loop subway beneficial to the Loop interests only.

Because Dever used the power of his office in an attempt to defeat Labor's champion, Alderman Oscar F. Nelson, for re-election because Nelson would not bow his head to the crack of the whip. Dever has opposed and throttled every effort that Alderman Nelson has made on the floor of the City Council in behalf of Labor.

To the Citizens of Chicago:

Our COOK COUNTY WAGE-EARNERS' LEAGUE, organized by and representing practically every trades union in Chicago for united action on the political field, in conformity with the political policy of the American Federation of Labor, has endorsed and urges all citizens to work and vote for the election of

WILLIAM HALE THOMPSON AS MAYOR OF CHICAGO

for the following reasons:

During his eight years as Mayor, he gave the working people and all elements of our City a square deal. As Mayor, he was constructive—he did things—for all of Chicago. He did not discriminate because of party politics or nationality.

WILLIAM HALE THOMPSON stands for the best interest of our school children and our public schools. He is opposed to the factory system of education and the curtailment of education for our children.

He did not, and will not, permit the big "Loop Interests" or the "Newspapers" to run him or the Mayor's office.

William E. Dever has been controlled by the Tribune and the Daily News and the big "Loop Interests." His record as Mayor is without any constructive action.

Most of Mayor Dever's supporters live in Evanston, Winnetka and other suburbs. On his campaign committee are twenty-seven members of the so-called Citizens Committee to enforce the Landis Award, which aggregation of loop financiers attempted to break up the building trades unions of Chicago.

As Mayor, WILLIAM HALE THOMPSON widened more streets and paved more alleys, accomplished more public improvements than any other Mayor ever did, and with his aid Chicago had a greater growth than ever in its history.

He is honest, vigorous and constructive, and not the tool or puppet of any new development and growth of Chicago, which means more prosperity for every one.

Get your friends and neighbors to take an interest in this election. The newspapers will not give the facts now any more than they did during the war period.

HELP YOUR OWN BEST INTERESTS AND HELP CHICAGO BY ELECTING WILLIAM HALE THOMPSON AS MAYOR.

Cook County Wage-Earners' League

M. J. KELLY, President

ALD. OSCAR F. NELSON, Vice-Pres.

JAMES JACOBS, Sec'y.

SAMPLE BALLOT

The following candidate has been endorsed by the Cook County Wage Earners' League:

<input type="radio"/> DEMOCRATIC	<input type="radio"/> REPUBLICAN	<input type="radio"/> INDEPENDENT REPUBLICAN	<input type="radio"/> PEOPLES OWNERSHIP- SMASH CRIME RINGS (BY PETITION)
FOR MAYOR	FOR MAYOR		FOR MAYOR
<input type="checkbox"/> WILLIAM E. DEVER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> WM. HALE THOMPSON		<input type="checkbox"/> JOHN DILL ROBERTSON
FOR CITY CLERK	FOR CITY CLERK		FOR CITY CLERK
<input type="checkbox"/> AL F. GORMAN	<input type="checkbox"/> PATRICK SHERIDAN SMITH		<input type="checkbox"/> CHARLES J. MacGOWAN
FOR CITY TREASURER	FOR CITY TREASURER		FOR CITY TREASURER
<input type="checkbox"/> M. S. SZYMCAK	<input type="checkbox"/> CHARLES S. PETERSON		<input type="checkbox"/> OSCAR WOLFF

TO THE VOTERS OF CHICAGO:

The Cook County Wage-Earners' League which is composed of working men and women have realized that it is time for the Wage-Earners to take an interest in local politics in following the policy of the American Federation of Labor to elect our friends who are honest and who will work for the best interests of the people. **REMEMBER THAT THE WAGE-EARNERS' LEAGUE ACCEPTS NO MONEY OR SPECIAL PRIVILEGES. ITS OBJECT IS TO GET FAIR TREATMENT FOR ALL.**

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

FRANCIS P. SULLIVAN,
President, Trades Council.
OSCAR F. NELSON,
Building Service Employees International
Union.
MICHAEL ARTERY,
Machinery Workers Union.
M. J. KELLY,
Meat Cutters Union.
EDWARD MOORE,
Holding Engineers.
MICHAEL KENNEDY,
Electricians Union No. 134.
CHAS. F. WILLS,
Machinists No. 134.
JAMES HARTY,
Drain Layers Union.
JAMES D. RYAN,
Sheet Metal Workers Union No. 71.
HARRY E. SCHIECE,
Chicago Trade Union Labor League.
THOMAS MALLOY,
Moving Picture Operators Union.
PAUL DAVID,
Building Service Employees Union.
WILLIAM ROONEY,
Sheet Metal Workers Union.
F. A. ACKERMAN,
Barbers Union.
JERRY O'DONNOR,
Theatre Janitors.
THOMAS FLYNN,
Carpenters Union No. 11.
JOHN FITZGERALDS,
Railway Express Drivers.
ISADORE GORDON,
Leather Workers Union.
WILLIAM MALONEY,
Holding Engineers.
JAMES OILBOY,
Technical Engineers.
GLENN CAMPBELL,
Park Employees Union.

HARRY JENSEN,
President, Carpenters District Council.
PATRICK F. SULLIVAN,
President, Building Trades Council.
THOS. O'SHEA,
Upholsters Union.
JOHN JILLSON,
Bill Posters and Billers No. 1.
PETER SHAUGHNESSY,
Bricklayers Union.
JERRY HOGAN,
Building Service Employees International
Union.
JAMES B. JACOB,
Chicago Flat Janitors Union.
JERRY LEAHY,
Sheet Metal Workers Union.
WM. KOLP,
Painters Local No. 10.
ANTON JOHANNSON,
Carpenters Union No. 1367.
SAM LUZZO,
President, Hodcarriers District Council.
MAURICE MAUS,
Parcel Delivery Drivers.
THOMAS O'DONNELL,
Bricklayers Union.
HENRY BIEHL,
Cement Finishers.
GEORGE JONES,
Composition Roofers.
JOHN DOHNEY,
Boilermakers Union.
MICHAEL POWERS,
Tire Workers Union.
HATTIE HAYMAN,
Machinist Auxiliary No. 186.
JAS. J. RYAN,
Sheet Metal Workers No. 115.
WILLIAM TRACEY,
Brick and Clay Workers Union.
JOHN CAMPBELL,
Bricklayers Union.

JOHN SCHULTZ,
President, Meat Trades Council.
JOHN A. CAIN,
Railway Tradesmen.
THOS. M. CONLEY,
Truck Drivers No. 705.
JAMES W. CLOSE,
Sheet Metal Workers No. 71.
PAUL CHRISTENSON,
Carpenters No. 1367.
BARNEY CASARIO,
Brick Makers Union.
JAMES DURKIN,
Meat Cutters No. 54.
ELIZABETH GRADY,
School Janitors Union No. 7.
MARTIN DALEY,
Boiler Makers Union.
JOE DOYLE,
Ice Men's Union.
ALFRED C. DEBS,
Pattern Makers Union.
PAUL H. BECHTOLD,
Housemen's Union.
A. P. FOREST,
Grocery Clerks Union No. 64.
JAS. W. GRAHAM,
Stationary Engineers No. 115.
JAMES HANNA,
Firemen's No. 558.
THOS. HEALY,
Bricklayers Union.
J. F. OHLMAN,
Machinists Union District No. 2.
T. ROSE,
Barbers Union No. 54.
ALBERT RIEFF,
Carnegie Library Union.
JAMES RYAN,
Sheet Metal Workers.
JOHN A. SCHOONOVER,
Free Inspectors Union.
JOHN STRETCH,
Bricklayers Union.

HARRY LUTHER,
Painters Union No. 147.
M. J. SEXTON,
Carpenters Union No. 11.
HARRY WINNICK,
Retail Clerks No. 195.
DAN SARITELLO,
Newspapers Union.
THOMAS REYNOLDS,
Moving Picture Operators.
JAMES BRUCE,
Post Office Clerks.
FRANK RANGO,
Ice Cream Drivers.
BEST JONES,
Auto Painters No. 294.
FRANK LUNDQUIST,
Musicians Union No. 10.
JAMES F. LAVERY,
Meat Cutters No. 54.
W. S. LEIDIG,
Barbers No. 54.
J. W. MCCARTHY,
Ice Cream Drivers No. 717.
FRANK MICHAELS,
Bakers Union No. 2.
GEORGE MOORE,
Lathers No. 74.
HUGH MULLIGAN,
Asbestos Workers Union.
RALPH O'HARA,
State Employees.
FRANK AXELSON,
Painters No. 184.
W. J. BURNS,
Teamsters Union.
ALBERT BRAVERMAN,
Mattress Workers Union.
FRANK BUCHANAN,
Bridge and Structural Iron Workers.
PETER MAGRETTI,
Music and Tarrasso Workers Union.
JOSEPH WEIL,
Bakers Union No. 2.

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They operate branches in thirty-six states with masters and contacts in each state. Their present aims are:

1. Adherence of the United States to the Permanent Court of International Justice.
2. An increase in the existing cooperation between the United States and the humanitarian, health, technical and kindred work of the League of Nations.

Their ultimate aim is membership of the United States in the League of Nations on such terms as the then existing Administration shall deem wise. Their activities constitute the building up of a membership which shall represent an intelligent public opinion on the League, World Court and International Labor Office. They maintain a Lecture Bureau which books their speakers and Information Distributing Bureau which distributes slides, pageants and study outlines, a Library of official League documents, books, pamphlets on international subjects and clippings from daily papers under the supervision of a trained librarian who is glad at any time to supply special information, an Educational Department which functions by developing programs for the study of international cooperation by school and organized groups and by working directly with teachers and leaders to develop a technique for teaching the facts regarding the League, Court and Labor Office.

The official organ of the association is the "League of Nations News" which in addition to articles on the League publishes a monthly digest of international affairs in general.

E. M. Whitney in his pamphlet "LaFollette, Socialism, Communism" stated as follows regarding the association:

"The League of Nations Non-Partisan Association has a committee on churches. This committee duplicates in many instances the names appearing on the directorate of the World Alliance and the Federal Council. Its object is thus stated: 'It will be the object of the association to secure the insertion in both the Republican and Democratic party platforms, in 1924, of a plank favoring entrance of the United States into the League of Nations. It will also be the object of the association to secure approval by members of the United States Senate of the President's World Court proposal.'"

A pamphlet circulated by the League of Nations Non-Partisan Association with permission of the Committee for International Cooperation is headed "That Every Citizen Should Know". This pamphlet reads like a Communist document. Excerpts from the statements on it are as follows:

"All citizens should think and learn the truth about war. They should know that wars are occasioned by Economic Rivalries of Nations for Markets, for 'Spheres of Influence' and for Foreign Investments. Are you willing that our boys should give their lives for Oil or Steel or Coal? They should know that backward countries are exploited by 'advanced' nations and the exploitation is called 'Financial Imperialism'. Are you willing that our boys should give their lives

for Exploitation of Weak Nations? The League of Nations aims to control the causes of war through organized world cooperation, gives publicity to its own proceedings and thus keeps the public informed, through its mandate commission makes possible the development instead of exploitation of weaker people.

In 1926 the League of Nations Non-Partisan Association produced a motion picture called "Hell" and "The Way Out" which was written and directed by James K. Slatkoff who has somewhat of a reputation as a producer of religious and educational films. Its purpose was to vividly portray the horrors of war in order to emphasize their aim, namely, to abolish war and to settle all international differences by legal procedure.

The educational committee is composed of

[REDACTED] The [REDACTED] of the [REDACTED] department issues a series of educational pamphlets in which they outline courses of study. One of the pamphlets of April 1926, their suggested reading courses are books and pamphlets published by the World Peace Foundation and the General Secretariat for International Peace.

Another pamphlet of June 1926, which is called an "International Guide to Material Descriptive of Many Lands and Peoples" suggests a method for teaching internationalism. Regarding this it states:

"It is not strictly necessary to teach international relationship. The lesson is often more easily grasped and sinks deeper if made into a story or a pageant or a play. The most essential thing is to make it interesting. Once the imagination is captured the young people will give their eager cooperation, especially if the lesson appears in the form of play or of nature."

Following this is given a list of fifteen different ways in which the above program can be followed which includes a game in which they take a trip to Europe with a boy or girl as a conductor of the tour, and another as a special guide to conduct the party through each country; the lives of world heroes telling all the folk lore stories of the foreign countries and international relations in which each boy or girl represents a country.

This pamphlet also recommends organizations which are international in character and will further the cause of internationalism. These organizations are:

The American Junior Red Cross: Of this they state: "The American Junior Red Cross promotes friendship and understanding amongst the children of the world by means of the exchange of portfolios between schools of every country."

American School Citizenship League: Its purpose is given as "To secure the interest of teachers in all countries in the movement for international cooperation."

The Association for Peace Education has for its object "To break down the old illusion of the gloriousness of war and establish peace through international understanding and to prevent the teaching of false national animosities by creating a demand that true history be taught at an age when irreconcilable prejudices are made."

The Society of Friends of the various churches, Boy Scouts of America and the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America. Of the latter organization they state:

"The Committee on World Friendship amongst Young People of

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the Federal Council of Churches brings together the young people of the several denominations and other larger bodies for the making of a Christian internationalism. . . . It will enlist the united spirit and continued co-operation of youth in the campaign for a warless world. It will focus the thought of youth on such specific issues as disarmament, interracial understanding, the World Court and the League of Nations. It will promote throughout the church at large the observation of world Good Will Day especially among young people."

The Girl Scouts, the League of Nations Non-Partisan League, The Missionary Education Movement and the National Council for Prevention of War. The objects of the National Council are given as:

1. Progressive world organization.
2. World-wide reduction of armaments by international agreement.
3. World-wide education for peace.

The Y.M.C.A. Of this it states: "The American national committee has developed a World Wide tour of boys of high school age. Each year a party of twenty to fifty selected American boys are sent on a tour of Europe."

The Y.W.C.A. Of this it states: "The interpretation of friendship in its world aspects is one of the fundamental emphases of the Girl Reserve Work of the Y.W.C.A. The expressions of it differ according to the group and community. The following are examples of the ways in which girl reserves are learning about good will and friendliness to other nations and peoples: Through pageants on world fellowship; international costume parties; the preparation and sharing with girls in foreign countries of Kodak letters and attractive scrapbooks of American school girl activities and club work; letters from secretaries in foreign lands to clubs over here; programs of music of foreign lands based on an Association publication, 'Yolk Songs of Many Lands'; discussion outlines on world peace printed in The Girl Reserve Bookshelf, and articles of appreciation of the contributions of other countries to our festivals and life."

An editorial appearing in "The New York Commercial" of November 5, 1926, states in part as follows:

"At the present time we have a small army of 'unofficial' representatives at Geneva. They do a vast amount of talking. It may be that some of them have a kind word for the United States, but if so, such utterances fail to get in print. The League of Nations News, published in the United States, by the League of Nations Non-Partisan Association, which appears to possess an unlimited expense account, in the issue of October, 1926, prints an article signed by Raymond B. Foedick headed 'American Ob-scuratation at Geneva'. Mr. Foedick writes:

'One has to go to Geneva, away from the complacency and self-obliteration with which we habitually surrounded ourselves at home really to get the picture. In relation to the world's first great experiment in international cooperation - an experiment the success of which can no longer be challenged - America has elected to stand aloof, absorbed in what she conceived to be her own interests, winning for herself contempt and even hatred among the civilized nations, and a place of moral isolation that is now absolutely complete.'

"Just when, how and by what authority Mr. Foedick became the spokesman for the people of the United States we do not recall. Frankly, we have never even heard any one suggesting he had the makings even of a Congressman, to say nothing of a Senator or a Cabinet officer. And who, pray, but those of the Foedick kind, by just such rot, have aided the United States to secure the 'contempt if not the hatred' of certain nations? But go further in the written utterances of this 'unofficial' representative:

Yo, S.
5/19/27

'It was this attitude of arrogance and superiority on the part of the United States as shown by the League of Nations that has cast a shadow over the Americans at Geneva.'

'That Americans at Geneva... League of Nations Non-Partisan Association... call themselves Americans, when they are given the name of Americans, certainly spending someone's good money... the United States in the eyes of the world? But the writer does not stop there. He continues:

'Is it any wonder that other nations put their eyes in the wilderness or that they have become completely disillusioned as to the intentions and good faith of the United States. . . . Americans who have watched the proceedings at Geneva this summer had scant grounds for pride.'

'When an American citizen locates in a foreign country comfortably sustained by somebody's money, and frankly charges his country and his Government with lacking in good faith toward other countries and governments, the natural thought that follows is that such a person is far from being loyal to his own country and Government, and to be swayed by ulterior motives. When a man goes to his neighbor and talks about his wife, charges her with unfaithfulness, we know the word applied. Is there not a parallel?'

Garret Garrett, in an article in the "Saturday Evening Post" of January 13, 1927, captioned "A Primer of Propaganda" states in part as follows:

'From international thinking has evolved an intellectual cult of internationalism, from the ideal of world peace has come a sociology for international friendship that would destroy all obstacles in a crusading spirit. These two notions of the American mind are reciprocal, and so act together as to produce a propaganda against any selfish interpretation of American interests, against nationalism, for the World Court, for the League of Nations, for any material sacrifice necessary to gain the love of the world. It redefines patriotism to accord with an international creed; it sees not the slightest reason why it should not fuse with foreign propaganda to achieve its ends. It has the weakness of all propaganda for selecting its facts to hold the truth.'

'Take the literature scattered by the League of Nations Non-Partisan Association, Inc., on last Armistice Day in the streets of New York. One piece of it reads:

'THE WORLD COURT

'DO AMERICANS WANT IT?

Presidents McKinley, Roosevelt, Taft, Wilson, Harding, all worked to establish such a Court.

'PRESIDENT COOLIDGE IS FOR IT

'AMERICA IS OVERWHELMINGLY FOR IT. Now with great good will the nations are accepting our terms, only slightly modified. The final adjustment is up to us. After thirty years' effort our goal is within reach.

BUT

A well-organized minority, always obstructive, is blocking the way. They have seized upon a technicality in order to nullify the Senate's action. If you stand behind the president, let him hear from you!

'WRITE TO THE PRESIDENT.

'WRITE TO YOUR TWO SENATORS.

'Get your organization to send a resolution. ACT TODAY.'

"The symbol there to be found is a stirred humanity that is listening the overwhelming call of America. With that had noticed the appeal to national unity. These words are not mere words. It is a potent symbol of the world's state of mind. Exactly illustrating the total impression is

"The League of Nations Non-Partisan Association has been formed through (1) an educational department, (2) schools, churches and churches, (3) a library of information, (4) motion pictures for schools, churches and clubs, (5) to stimulate interest in the League of Nations, (6) stereopticon slides for the same purpose, (7) a public relations bureau, (8) an information bureau, and (9) a publicity campaign. The League of Nations information through the medium of newspapers and magazines.

"It has an enormous output of literature. A feature of which is the League of Nations News, a weekly magazine to present 'articles of fact'. To the Editor under Raymond's name was printed an article entitled, American Obstructionism at Geneva. In which he said:

"When [redacted] of Canada, finished his analysis of the Senate's reservations and the spirit behind them, there were few Americans present who did not feel the humiliation of our position. . . . In our modern world,' says Mr. Foadick again, 'nationalism, with its attendant patriotic emotions and loyalties, has increasingly taken a form which threatens to be the chief rival of Christianity.' b7C

"Among the numerous pamphlets of the League of Nations Non-Partisan Association is one entitled International Friendship Through Children's Books, by Clara W. Hunt, who tells an anecdote and points its moral thus:

"Recently I gave a lantern-slide talk on England and Scotland to a group of children in a Jewish tenement district in Brooklyn. . . . Then I had finished, an awkward, loyal-hearted fourteen year-old said to me, 'Miss Hunt, I don't like to have you say these countries are better than America. America first, always.' b7C

"And I answered, 'By all means let us try to make America first in justice, in honesty, in helpfulness to men, but never in heartfulness and in blindness to any lessons of beauty and moral greatness which other countries can teach us.'

"The boy looked at me as dazedly as if I had addressed him in Choctaw. What I have been saying illustrates things well known to you, but I wish to bring again before us these perfectly familiar ideas in order to emphasize:

"First, the importance of giving young children the right kind of prejudices.

"Second, the fact that some kinds of prejudice are more important than the prejudices we mean to.

A press report appearing in the New York Times of January 11th, captioned "Republican Declines Policy", states:

"[redacted] of the executive committee of the League of Nations Non-Partisan Association, and a member of the Republican National Committee from New Jersey, criticized the foreign policy of the Coolidge Administration yesterday at the morning session of the annual meeting of the association in the Hotel Astor. b7C

"The speaker was in handling stiff variables to 'America's' and 'national interests are involved,' Mr. [redacted] said, 'but I am not permitted to participate in the League of Nations or the League of Nations. The fact that in so doing we would risk the United States position in this attitude of indifference toward

world peace, we will finally stand united before the world, and
the for our organization to save the world. The fact that these
the politicians get away with it, is a disgrace, and the fact that there
no one in the community who stands up to the average politician.

[redacted] speaker at the afternoon session,
indicated his belief that the differences between the United States
Senate and the nations in the League regarding conditions precedent to
the United States entering the World War, might be favorably resolved
in a conference if some time was allowed to intervene, and if there was
not too much public agitation over the subject.

The meeting adopted "In a body" a report of a special
committee on American neutrality and arbitration, submitted by Dr. James
James T. Stewart of Columbia University, but withheld the report from
publication pending changes to be made in its text. Other reports were
submitted to the meeting dealing with the work of the Association during the
last year and plans for the coming year, with special reference to
educational work.

The following officers were elected for 1927: President,
John H. Clarke, of Ohio, former Justice of the United States Supreme
Court; [redacted] of New York; [redacted] of New York; [redacted] of New York.

A report in the "New York Times" of April 2, 1927, that the
League of Nations Non-Partisan Association has been granted a charter by
the City of New York, which was signed by the Mayor and was
submitted to the City of New York. It stated that three quarters of the
League of Nations Non-Partisan Association had already been obtained.

A "New York Times" report, of May 3, under the caption "What
We Do About French Peace Plan", stated:

"The League of Nations Non-Partisan Association, at a
meeting at the Waldorf-Astoria, 500 Fifth Avenue, last evening, adopted
resolutions favoring a critical acceptance of the recent French
proposal for a League of Nations agreement to outlaw war by the League
of Nations, and to settle any controversy that may arise between the
League of Nations."

Professor James T. Stewart of Columbia University, at
the offer by France had definitely placed upon the American people
responsibility for a decision as to America's stand on the peace
plan and war. The resolutions adopted at the dinner session.

"In view of the public offer of the French Government to
France, on April 2, to subscribe publicly with the United States to
any initial agreement which may be entered into between the League
of Nations; and

"In view of the fact that such a treaty would serve to
extend in a practical way the League of Nations at Louvain; and

"In view of the further fact that such a treaty
would be in conformity with and help carry out the objectives of the
League of Nations;

That, therefore, be it resolved by the members of the
Greater New York Branch of the League of Nations Non-Partisan Association,
in annual meeting assembled at 500 Fifth Avenue, New York City, May 2,
1927, that we respectfully urge the President, the Secretary of State
and the Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, on behalf of our
Government to take the necessary steps to accept and follow up the
notable offer made by the French Foreign Minister, Charles Richot, on

100-8
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France and our country shall agree to submit to peaceful settlement
any controversy of any character which may arise between them; and
be it

"Further resolved, that a copy of this resolution be
sent to the President, the Secretary of State and the Chairman of
the Senate Foreign Relations Committee."

.

11
2

Supplementary Summary to
THE SOVIETS, THE AGROJOINT, SOME
FINANCIERS AND WORLD TOURS

H A Jung.

There are one or two things that have developed since the above entitled summary of May 12 was dictated that are of more or less interest as shedding light on the general subject. I shall summarize them very briefly:

Junious B. Wood, referred to in the previous summary, has sent two subsequent cables. One of them states that two towns were inspected, one of which has been named "Felix" and the other of which has been named "Warburg" and that the road between them has been named "Felix Novyzara Ya" which Wood says means "The New Sunrise". This is somewhat interesting because of its parallel to the well known Novy Mir, "The New Day", "The New Age", etc. The Wood cable states that the ultimate aim is to have the two towns develop so that they ultimately join and then they will automatically become "Felix Warburg".

A subsequent dispatch from Wood, sent from Moscow under date of May 18 and published in the Chicago Daily News of the same date, states that the Warburg party has inspected "thirty-six old Jewish colonies, some of which were started after the Napoleonic wars and after the Crimean war", and then adds that in addition to those colonies "the party visited representative groups of 136 villages built in the last three years on land given by the Soviet government".

Waterloo was fought in June, 1815. The Wood cable therefore shows that from 1815 to 1924 there were only 36 Jewish colonies established in Russian territory while in the three years since that period 136 have been established. Something seems to have been moving since the Communists secured control of Russia.

Further light is shed on this subject in an interview that Wood had with Warburg following this inspection trip. In the cablegram just referred to, he quotes Warburg as saying:

"An important factor in the success of these colonies is the organized backing which protects them against failure."

Just so.

Wood further reports that one of the colonies is named [redacted] being named after [redacted] of Chicago (Sears, Roebuck & Co.). He adds that [redacted] took motion pictures of this colony and then showed the pictures to the villagers. I presume that this means that motion picture films covering this inspection trip will ultimately be shown in this country through arrangements that will undoubtedly be made by Agrojoint. b7C

I also find that the New York Times of May 14, 1927, prints a Moscow cable quoting an announcement by Constantine Stanislavski, founder of the Moscow Art Theater, to the effect that [redacted] and Otto Kahn b7C "have been elected to honorary membership in the Moscow Art Theater for their services in the promotion of dramatic art".

Favors Turkish Loan

Apparently, in addition to the other people that he has seen on his present European tour, Kahn has been in touch with representatives of the Angora government. He is quoted in an interview, reprinted in the Daily Worker of May 12 (original source not given) as saying:

"I am impressed with the energy, determination and vision of the new Turkey and wish that America would begin to exercise the traditional role of active sympathizer with a nation endeavoring to realize democratic ideals. Justice of the new laws warrants the influx of American capital."

L. W. P.

saying:

The *Worker* introduces its report of this interview by saying: "Otto Kahn, the versatile banker, does not spend all his time financing little and big theaters and encouraging hopeful artists with a mission. He does a little traveling on the side. Otto likes Mussolini but that fact does not prevent him from liking [redacted] of Turkey who is as fond of Mussolini as a mouse is of a cat. In his role of art lover Kahn may cast admiring eyes on the mosques of Constantinople (are they art?) but in his role of banker listen to Otto."

b7C

Then follows the quotation I have given.

While it is true that I can probably, without subjecting my mind to any great strain, think of people who are perhaps better fitted than Otto Kahn to lecture this country on its "traditional role" I am not so much interested in that angle as I am in the fact that while Felix M. Warburg of Kuhn, Loeb & Company is inspecting Soviet Jewish colonies in Russia that he is helping to finance, Otto H. Kahn, another member of Kuhn, Loeb & Company, is apparently paving the way for floating a loan to Turkey which is one of the latest countries to perfect a treaty with Soviet Russia. I now quote from the Constantinople "Djounhouriet" which, in the course of comment on the Russo-Turkish treaty says:

"It is hard to find another example of such a friendship between two nations. The pact of friendship between Russia and Turkey was signed on the field of a battle undertaken by two peoples in order to preserve their independence and their life. For this reason we will never allow this friendship to be lost. To let such a friendship be destroyed or even lessened would be the greatest historical blunder."

Rather interesting set of quotations, isn't it? Of course it may be that Kahn does not know where Warburg is nor what Warburg is doing and that Warburg does not know where Kahn is nor what Kahn is doing but I am frank to say that such a supposition is a bit difficult for me to swallow.

Credits to USSR

Back of the action of the USSR in sending delegates to the so-called Economic Conference at Geneva, Switzerland, under League of Nations' auspices and likewise back of practically all the maneuvers made by the Communist officials lies the effort to secure credits to bolster up Soviet Russia. In view of that angle the following printed reports may be of interest:

In an editorial commenting on cables from London, England, to Communist headquarters in this country on the British raid on Arcos, the *Daily Worker* says:

"An agreement for a credit of \$50,000,000 for the Soviet Union had just been reached with the Midland Bank. The carrying out of this agreement would have alleviated unemployment to some extent. In addition to this the peaceful attitude of the Soviet Union in the face of continued imperialist provocation has aroused world wide sympathy and support among the masses." (The *Daily Worker*, official Communist organ, May 16, 1927, page 4.)

Passing over the question of whether it is the Soviets or the so-called "imperialist" powers that have been giving provocation, it might be interesting to run down the connections of the Midland Bank and what lies back of this reported \$50,000,000 loan that the Soviets charge the Arcos raid was staged to prevent.

Another possibly interesting angle may lie back of the alleged facts in the following:

"The diplomatic correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph* recently made some remarkable statements. The mologa fiasco notwithstanding, the German banks are said to be contemplating commercial credits of forty to sixty million pounds, probably with a 60% State guarantee, to the

Soviet Government, to be repayable in eight years. He hints not unnaturally that political considerations must lurk behind this 'unprecedented business proposition' and he alludes to the German attempts to reconcile the USSR with the Swiss Government as a significant symptom." (The Patriot, London, England, issue May 5, 1927, page 410.)

If this report is correct it is well not to overlook Dr. Hjalmer, Schacht, head of the German Reichsbank, probably Germany's leading financier, and in close touch with the Warburgs and Otto Kahn. (See earlier summary.)

Charges

b7C

It perhaps may not be amiss to recall at this time that at the meeting of the Executive Committee of the so-called Socialist or Second Internationale held in Paris last February, [redacted] German Socialist, showed a purported photograph of a telegram "alleged to have been sent by the Reichswehr chiefs to an American bank announcing the shipment of \$50,000 for the payment of arms and poison gas manufactured for Germany in Russia under the auspices of the Soviet government". (Paul Scott Mowrer's cable from Paris to Chicago Daily News, February 14, 1927.) b7C

On February 24, 1927, Edgar Ansel Mowrer cabled from Berlin that on February 23, the accuracy of the [redacted] charge "was admitted by the Reichswehr minister Otto Gessler, before the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Reichstag in secret session. - - - - At the explicit request of the Russian Ambassador, Chancellor Marx strenuously opposed any public discussion as to sale of munition. b7C

"Ex-Chancellor Wirth made a long and somewhat vague argument as to the necessity of Germany's maintaining good relations with the 'East' and accepted full responsibility for the arrangement with Russia which was made when he was Chancellor." (Chicago Daily News, February 24, 1927.)

It is also interesting to note that reports from Germany were to the effect that Secretary Schubert for the Committee on Foreign Affairs "defined the German policy as two-edged, that is to say, Locarno agreements and the League of Nations in the West and friendship with Russia in the East". (Ibid)

The February cable just quoted makes somewhat interesting reading when one checks back to the quotation given in this supplementary summary from The Patriot with its reference to German pressure on Switzerland for reconciliation with Russia plus the fact that Soviet delegates are now sitting in the so-called Economic Conference under League of Nations auspices.

I have not yet been able to ascertain what American bank it was to which the alleged telegram shown by [redacted] was sent but I hope to find out ultimately. b7C

In view of the Communist charges that the recent Arcos raid in London was designed inter alia to break up a purported \$50,000,000 loan or credit to be extended by the Midland Bank, it is interesting to note a little coincidence: [redacted] the English Socialist, was [redacted] the sessions of the Executive Committee of the Second Internationale at the time [redacted] showed the telegram referred to and according to London cables it was [redacted] who took the lead in the effort to cross-question [redacted] on the Arcos raid. b7C

As this supplemental summary, like the summary of May 12, confines itself to published matter and as I have not yet quoted from anything except what has been publicly printed, this supplemental summary, like the summary of May 12, is not confidential.

Respectfully submitted,

(Signed) [redacted]

b7C

May 23, 1927

RESUBMITTED BY H.A. JUNG

National Women's Trade Union League of America



WHAT IT IS

WHY IT IS

WHERE IT IS

"The labor movement is a part of the great world-wide struggle towards a finer, fuller life for all; a part of the age-long struggle of the human race towards a redeemed world order."

WHAT IT IS

The National Women's Trade Union League is a federation of trade unions with women members. In its program and work it represents the organized working women of the United States, and aids also, through its legislative activities, the millions of unorganized women. The League may, therefore, speak on behalf of every working woman, whether she be a

*Weaver at the loom
Saleswoman in the store
Girl at the switchboard
Core Maker in the foundry
Waitress in the restaurant
Business Woman at the desk*

There is also an individual membership, open to all who wish to co-operate in raising industrial standards and releasing the energies of the workers, to the end that they may enjoy life fuller and more abundant.

The League asks for

*Organization of workers into trade unions.
Equal pay for equal work, regardless of sex or race.
Eight-hour day and the 44-hour week.
An American standard of living.
Full citizenship for women.
The outlawry of war.
Closer affiliation of women workers of all countries.*

During the last four years the National Women's Trade Union League and its branches has aided women in nearly one hundred trades to organize or to strengthen their organizations. These include occupations as varied as:

Candy workers	Packing house employees
Garment workers	Paper pulp workers
Gold leaf cutters	Sugar refiners
Laundry workers	Umbrella makers
Negro women in several trades	Upholsterers
News stand girls	Victrola workers
Office building cleaners	Women street car conductors
	Women's auxiliaries to men's unions

Through the field department local leagues are strengthened and new ones established.

Through the Training School, trade union women are sent forth to serve the labor movement.

Through pamphlets, Life and Labor Bulletin and the Washington legislative press service, the aims and purposes of the trade union movement are interpreted to the public.

Through action at the conventions, the National Women's Trade Union League made possible the calling together of the first International Congress of Working Women. The Third Congress met in August, 1923.

WHY IT IS

The National Women's Trade Union League aims to secure through organization such standards in every branch of industry employing women as shall secure for all

A wage to permit of an American standard of living.

Hours short enough to leave time for recreation and education.

The right to belong to a trade union.

Organization is the paramount need, for through the trade union the workers can bargain collectively for all. The trade union secures greater freedom in the workshop, a fair division of work, and an equitable means of handling complaints, and lessens markedly irregularity of employment in the seasonal trades.

The League's field representative works to establish branches in our large industrial communities which shall serve as centers of labor activity for women.

The Trade Union Is the College of the Working Girl

It is more necessary today than it has ever been before that the workers shall understand the problems of industry, and the best and most efficient way to handle them. Through the trade union the girl becomes intelligent about her own occupation, her relation to it, to her fellow workers, to her employer. Through it she learns what are her claims upon the community in which she lives; the part that hygiene plays in the factory as well as in the home. Incidentally, she studies the practical issues of citizenship, and so gains poise and breadth of view. In the trade union she learns also that others need her help.

The League meets her desire to fit herself for service by opening to her the opportunities of its Training School.

The power of the National Women's Trade Union League to change conditions and its message of inspiration to its membership lies in that it reaches out to both the young girls and the older women in the unorganized groups, held helpless in the grip of the industrial machine, by opening to them opportunities of coming into the organized labor movement; and, on the other hand, forms a link between them and those civic-spirited citizens who stand for a better social order, and wish to co-operate in bringing it about.

Both groups find in the literature which the League publishes, enlightenment and interpretation.

WHERE IT IS

National Women's Trade Union League of America

Endorsed by the American Federation of Labor
and the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada

Headquarters: 311 South Ashland Boulevard

CHICAGO

Cable Address: "Lifelabor Chicago"

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Secretary, Inez Cook.

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St.
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Minneapolis, Minnesota:
National Committee
Chairman, Dora Kreutzian, 1712 North
Emerson St.

the ROAD to FREEDOM

VOL. II.—No. 8

JUNE, 1926

38927

PRICE

Save Sacco and Vanzetti!

THE Supreme Court of Massachusetts denied our comrades Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti a new trial and closed to them the last door of legal appeal from death in the electric chair. They will now come before the Superior Court for sentence after conviction in 1921 of the alleged murder of the shoe company paymaster and guard in South Braintree on April 15, 1920.

Sacco and Vanzetti were obscure workingmen five years ago, now these two names signify that they are martyrs on the altar of the American frame-up system, victims because they are radicals and foreigners. They are sentenced to death at the instigation of the infamous persecution of Mitchell Palmer and his hirelings.

This case which has aroused such indignant agitation all over the world and caused the American Federation of Labor to brand it as a "ghastly miscarriage of justice" is closely interwoven with the sensational occurrence that stirred New York City on May 3rd, six years ago. Early that morning passers on Park Row saw a body crash to the pavement from Department of Justice windows 14 stories high. It was Andreas Salsedo, an Ital-

ian Anarchist who had been held incommunicado by Palmer's agents for two months while they gave him the third degree in the effort to get the names of his friends for deportation purposes and if possible to fix responsibility on him for the June, 1919, bomb explosions.

Sacco and Vanzetti were close friends of Salsedo. Vanzetti had sought his release in New York before his death and immediately after the two friends began arousing the Italians of New England to this latest atrocity of the Department of Justice's reign of terror. Handbills for a big mass meeting in Brockton had been drawn up, when, with a handbill in their possession, they were seized May 5th in Brockton.

For two days they were grilled as "reds." Then—as an after thought of the authorities—a charge of murdering a paymaster and payroll guard at South Braintree, a nearby town, was sprung.

The trial proved unavoidably that the defendants were Anarchists, opponents of the war, active in strikes and labor propaganda. In place of evidence of guilt, an overwhelming impression was forced upon the jury that such men were capable of murder.

Incontrovertible facts of the case were put aside by the jury who pleaded with the jury "to be the government" and to "seek in their deliberations as did the can soldier boy as he fought up his life on the battle France."

Our comrades were sentenced to death not because they committed robbery, as charged by the Massachusetts, but because they were known as agitators in the labor movement and prominent as defectors from anarchist comrades during the campaign of Mitchell Palmer and his hirelings in the Department of Justice against the radical movement in this country.

They were convicted on a false testimony. For six years they have been in jail, sustained only by the knowledge that their innocence and the crime imputed to them is real. The knowledge also of the unswerving loyalty of their friends outside.

But each of these years has been 365 days, never a holiday, never a change, except to be one day closer to the electric chair—or liberty.

Comrades and friends—what's to be done now? Shall we allow the capitalist class to kill our comrades in the electric chair?

Comrades, in this crucial hour we appeal to you to continue the agitation for the freedom of our comrades. The fight for their freedom is the fight of all the oppressed and downtrodden for liberation. In this case, they

death" is our friends decision, and Liberty it will be if we continue to demand it. Our efforts for these dreadful years to gain the freedom of our comrades shall not be in vain. Let us keep up the agitation with firmness.

Comrades, arrange meetings in all localities, arouse the public, make the people acquainted with the case.

Protest meetings take place in civilized countries, in every part of the world. Join the mighty protest in your own town. We must save our comrades from the electric chair. Do not be weakened in the great combat against Tyranny. Remember and have

L. P. on a platform stipulating
alism in Our Time?"

where stood the "wild men from
" with their mentor, the Chris-
revolutionary simpleton Lansbury?
y followed meekly in the foot-
of the handsome ex-premier.
or has to pay the price.

labor politicians are the off-
g of the political infamies amid
they got their training; crea-
with no principles save one, viz.,
when they get a majority and
into power labor has to toe the

the revolt of the British work-
is one of the most encouraging
important signs in the struggle for
icipation. The workers have
ed a lesson—the lesson of useless-
of political leadership, of Parlia-
rism. The workers had an op-
nity to see clearly and convinc-
how little sympathy the upstart
rs and politicians have with the
of toil.

the same time the idea of a gen-
rike was triumphant, to the sur-
not only of the masters in the
list camp, but also to the aston-
nt of the sceptics in the revolu-
ry movement.

aid of the final outcome the labor
ers called off the partial strike
d of calling out the entire organ-
and conscious labor.

killing the partial strike they
the significance of the general

the Internationales and Fascism

HE International Workingmen's
Association (Berlin), addressed
to the Amsterdam International
as to the Red Labor Union In-
tional (Moscow) a proposition of
on action in all countries against
ism. The letter was couched in the
ing terms:

accordance with the suggestion
our affiliated organizations,
iat of the I. W. M. A. re-
on its

rible situation the labor movement of
Italy is facing at the present time. And
that applies not only to the "Unione
Sindacale Italiana," which is affiliated
to our I. W. M. A., but also to the
"Confederacion General dei Lavatori,"
which belongs to I. F. T. U. Both have
been destroyed.

Italy is today beneath the heel of
the blackest reaction, and the Italian
proletariat is not now in a position to
free itself from the terrible tyranny by
its own strength.

The Italian working class is greatly
in need of the aid of the internationally
organized proletariat. We are con-
vinced that immediate help must be
given to the working class of Italy.
Furthermore, that it is to the vital in-
terests of the world proletariat to ter-
minate Fascism. You must consider
that Fascism is spreading throughout
the world. Italian Fascism is penetrat-
ing the entire labor movement; it
means the complete enslavement of
labor everywhere. Already Fascism has
taken root in France and every effort
is being made to "modernize" reaction,
so as to dupe the workers about the
real essence and meaning of the develop-
ing situation. Those elements, for in-
stance, that are now grouped around
the "Nouveau Siecle" (new Fascist
paper in Paris) pretend to defend the
interests of labor—namely, chiefly
against the organized class struggle
movement of labor.

In Germany also there is growing the
monarchist-Fascist danger. Not to
mention Spain, where our organization
—the "Confederacion Nacional del
Trabajo"—is exposed to the most fear-
ful persecution by the military dicta-
torship of Rivera. For the change of
government in Spain has altered noth-
ing at all in that situation. Similarly
in Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, and
now also in Greece, under its new mili-
tary dictatorship, Fascism is spreading
itself, and labor facing the most diffi-
cult situation in its history. Sufficient
the above, to clarify how pressing is
the need of international action of the
world proletariat against world re-
action.

It is most important that the con-
sulted action be directed first of all,

were then unnecessary. But in this un-
dertaking the co-operation of all three
organizations—the internationals—is
absolutely necessary to insure effective
results. Our organizations in Barcel-
ona, in Portugal, in Mexico and South
America, would very energetically par-
ticipate in such action, if called upon
to do so by us. Also the other countries,
where the forces affiliated with us are
in a minority—as in Germany, Sweden
and Holland—would co-operate with
us in the proposed action, so far as
those minorities are concerned. We
hope that also your organizations
would be willing to carry through this
action, when appealed to by you in the
matter. We remind you, on this occa-
sion, of the boycott against Horty
(Hungary), that did not fail of good
results.

We believe to have the right to as-
sume—with certainty—that your or-
ganization will support our proposal.
At least we hope so, and we suggest
that you inform us of your attitude in
this question as soon as possible. All
other matters pertaining to this ques-
tion could then be arranged either by
correspondence or by personal confer-
ence, once we are agreed in principle
on this plan."

The letters were sent registered post
on January 16th. After a first formal
acknowledgment, the Amsterdam re-
plied as follows:

"The Executive, sitting in session on
February 11th and 12th, took position
to your proposals re an action against
Italian Fascism. It is just because we
are in constant relations with the Ital-
ian Unions and have first-hand informa-
tion as to the state of things in Italy,
that we cannot comply with your
friendly request."

Although very gentlemanly, this
reply completely lacks the spirit of
revolutionary class struggle. The
knowledge of the situation in Italy
seems to be the pretext for the Execu-
tive of the Amsterdam International to
reject any action against Fascism. Let
it be noted, that our proposal in no
ways demanded anything from the Ital-
ian workers. It was thought to be the
duty of the workers of other count-
ies to enter the field on behalf of
the Italian workers and to

Elisée Reclus' Anarchism

(Continuation)

—the impression that that International is afraid to bear the responsibility for calling out the international proletariat to a common action against Fascism.

But while the evasiveness of the Amsterdamers will not surprise the working class, it is to be openly stated that the behavior of the Moscow Labor International is simply disgraceful. That body is never tired of slinging revolutionary phrases. Times without number the Moscow dictators would pride themselves of their revolutionary sentiments and would call all the other tendencies in the labor movement counter-revolutionary.

The Executive of the R. L. U. I. did not even find it necessary to acknowledge receipt of our letter. It is thus clear that we are in the presence of a cynical *sabotage* of an international action on the part of the Moscow International.

Were one to look for the grounds for such a counter-revolutionary attitude of the R. L. U. I., one could find them in the friendly relations existing between the Soviet Government and Fascism. Added to the fact that the R. L. U. I., at its Congresses, in its manifestoes and at all other occasions, proclaims its full solidarity with the Soviet Government—and it will become clear that it should be unwilling to make it unpleasant for its government by proclaiming war to another government with which the first is in friendly relation.

While we brand, before the international proletariat, the cowardly attitude of the Moscow International, we warn also the working class of all countries against the various organizations and politicians who have sold themselves to this or that government. The labor movement will only then be able to develop freely its forces, whether nationally or internationally, when it is free from any distance from any capitalist, social-

quoted

Like a pure and spontaneous source, pure thoughts and ideas constantly and ceaselessly emerge from the entire "Correspondence" of Reclus, not in an unnecessary "preachy" and boring form, but through the most ingenious expressions of feeling, in a mere statement of common facts and things and, at times, through a single word. Profound thoughts and genial observations alternate with the purest of friendly manifestations, with souvenirs and allusions, which are almost always filled with a joyful serenity, with which he faced all happenings and events.

It certainly would have been interesting to have, from his own pen, well organized memoirs of this life of apostle and scholar, like those, so much alive and so dear to us, of Kropotkin and Louise Michel, of Lorenzo, Lefrancais and others. However, for him who knows how to read with the understanding of the heart, this "Correspondence" can take the place of the best biography for, through it, we are acquainted not only with the material but also with the intimate spiritual life of Elisée Reclus, with the formation and development of his thought and with the highest movements of his lofty heart.

Thus, the complete life of Reclus appears before our eyes, and for us the reading of the Epistolary seems to be the best imaginable "propaganda of deed" in favor of anarchism. People who have intimately known the Reclus family tell us of the fascination exercised by Elisée upon those surrounding him; and this fascination we understand perfectly, for we, ourselves, still feel its influence when we read his letters. In them we see clearly how all his beautiful life (his deeds, his private and public life, in fact, everything connected with him) was a coherent explanation of the humane ideal which he also synthesized in the word "Anarchism."

When Bakunin became acquainted

Reclus, he felt for him a great

Bakunin thought, however,

I not seem to possess "tous les

corps" (all the devils in his

ich, in Bakunin's opinion were

in order to be a real revolu-

anarchist society, of the new n ready formed by the future s which fraternity has already be fixed mode of life, in which sol has become instinctive, in wh sense of justice and of liberty has become the natural law a the outcome of a slow unfolding man progress.

This may be why, when read "Correspondence," we have the sion of happiness; it seems to Elisée Reclus must have been h the noblest and loftiest sense wh longing for the good may give abstract concept of happiness. it can be said that "he has life." And if our impressio sponds, in so far as it is human, sible in such a horrible world, reality of life, what better pro this could we ask of the old mas the secret and the foundation happiness, compatible with the section of our human nature, lie ing kind?

When we speak of Reclus, ness" should not be interpreted manner of those who consider tion, humility and servility a The kindness of Reclus was th. revolutionist and of a rebel, wh how to hate with virility all evil, ugly, and false, how to of justice, repel violence, rebel oppression, fight against pai understand even the outbursts spair and of exasperation; it fighting and militant kindness Tolstoyan kindness of resignati

In order to demonstrate all should have to quote sentences graphs and whole pages of the respondence." But, then, wh we choose? We should have everything. . . . The best thir be to have all the letters of Rec reproduced and translated in al views and periodicals of pro and education. There is no or the exception of a few purely ply erudite letters which are interesting from other view which could not be used or be c tain benefit in given circumst with regard to certain proble discussion. All of them are pl read and bring a great moral to those who suffer and feel of reinvigorating and p

by the sight

ROAD TO FREEDOM

Periodical of Anarchist Thought,
Work and Literature



PUBLISHED BY THE
ROAD TO FREEDOM PUBLISHING
ASSOCIATION
at Stelton, N. J.

HIPPOLYTE HAVEL, Editor

Subscription—One Dollar a Year
Single Copies—Five Cents

All Communications and make all
Money Orders payable to
TO FREEDOM, STELTON, N. J.



HY—A social theory which regards
man of order with the absence of all
government of man by man as the
ideal, absolute individual liberty.

TO revolution ever rises above
the intellectual level of those
who make it, and little is
where one false notion supplants
But we must some day, at
and forever, cross the line between
sense and common sense. And on
we shall pass from class pater-
originally derived from the
fiction in times of universal ig-
to human brotherhood in ac-
e with the nature of things and
owing knowledge of it; from
government to industrial ad-
dition; from competition in in-
alism to individuality in co-op-
; from war and despotism in
to peace and liberty.

—THOMAS CARLYLE.

Comments

July on the ROAD TO FREE-
OM will appear twice a month.
Comrades and friends are urged
to do their best for the pub-
—to help us to carry the finan-
responsibility.

well meant criticism of the
e cannot do better than to re-
e following lines of our old
ovak:

found some comrades who
d sincerely mis-

A paper published once a month,
medium-sized but large of type, has to
economize space. A paper of the kind
like yours, the only one of the kind in
the language of the country, is merely
tentatively sending out its feelers to
find out who is left after the world
cataclysm, at the same time trying to
orient its initiators regarding the
changes wrought in the intellectual
processes by the great debacle.

Only after having done that, after
having found itself, sounded its depth,
its degree of adaptation to changed
conditions in every domain of life, the
paper can enter upon wider scopes. The
planned change to a bi-monthly, and
later a weekly, will furnish the space
needed to cover the ground that can
not even be touched at the present time.
It will then voice the wishes as to the
brainfood expected in its columns.

The comrades in question were will-
ing to see the point.

THREE Portuguese comrades of Fall
River, Mass., are being held in \$1,000
bail each on charges of teaching anar-
chy and inciting to the overthrow of
government by force. They are An-
tonio Perreira, Diamantino Texeira,
and Antonio de Costa, arrested after
reactionary Portuguese in Fall River
had complained that they were print-
ing an anarchistic monthly periodical
which allegedly attacked the govern-
ment and the Catholic church.

Our authorities are only too eager to
protect foreign Popery and the sheep-
ish followers of Rome. The American
Civil Liberties Union offered assistance
to our comrades.

THE country of Ferrer-murder-and-
Montjuich-torture-infamy goes on rec-
ord again by sentencing to death the
anarcho-syndicalist Rafael Torres.
The garrote is to silence the voice of
the active comrade who was a thorn in
the flesh of the Fascist powers that be.
On June 4, 1923, an archbishop of
Saragossa was attacked, as the facts
seem to indicate, by a loyal Catho-
who wanted to get at the seducer's
wife, but scandal was not want
an aristocratic, clerical, Fasci-
court indicted the comrade w
time of the attack was miles a
behind closed doors with no

mained so after his return to Russia in
1917. As professor of law he has pub-
lished erudite works. His advanced age
did not permit him propaganda ac-
tivity, and his purely theoretical and
historical anarchistic writings saved
him through their erudition from mo-
lestation by the Soviet authorities.

QUITE a number of interesting points
—including the question of copyright
in Bartholdi's famous Statue of Lib-
erty—are raised by the story of the
Manchester Guardian that the Bolshe-
viks intend to erect in Vladivostock
harbor "a complete replica" of the
Statue of Liberty—except that the
head will be that of Lenin. As a story
it sounds almost as tall as the statue
itself, and the idea of Lenin's shrewd
and masculine features crowning an
august female is almost too grotesque
to be dwelt on. But this is a rather
unsettled world and it is dangerous to
denounce anything as impossible. After
all, the idea of a standard figure of
Liberty, with a detachable head to suit
various countries and policies, is per-
haps a commercial proposition. Henry
Ford might do worse than manufacture
the headless replicas of the New York
statue on mass production lines, and
leave his customers to supply the heads
to their own fancy.

At Vladivostock Lenin would gaze
out from beneath the lamp and the up-
stretched arm; in Rome Mussolini; in
Athens General Pangalos; in Warsaw
Pilsudski; in Madrid Rivera; in Paris
Briand's moustachios would droop
splendidly upon a grateful populace,
and through the softening haze of New
York would be caught glimpses of Mr.
Coolidge's cheerful smile.

Why, indeed, confine the idea to Bar-
tholdi's Statue of Liberty? Why not
have all public statues fitted with de-
tachable heads, so that they could be
changed every Monday
like the movie pr
greatly add to
them, and

lished that the war sacrifices of one month of the late European war were more numerous than the stars to be counted on the heavens by the bare eyes on a beautiful summer night.

Los Angeles prosecutes Eugene O'Neill's drama "Desire Under the Elms" as immoral. A century ago Honore de Balzac declared:

Reproach of immorality which has ever been launched at the courageous author, is the last that remains to be made, when nothing else can be urged against him. If you are true in your portrayal, if, by dint of working night and day, you succeed in writing the most difficult language in the world, the epithet immoral is cast in your face. Socrates was immoral. Jesus Christ was immoral. Both were persecuted in the name of societies they overthrew or reformed. When the world wishes to destroy anyone, it taxes him with immorality.

Is it not rather absurd for evolutionists to use the term "descent of man"? For how can man descend from a lower form of life? Descending from the gods or supermen may be all right for the believers in the creation theory, but for the evolutionist, why, we must of a necessity evolve from lower to higher life. Therefore *ascent of man* would seem to be the only proper term for the evolutionist to use. It is time now for humanity to do a little ascending. We have been descending long enough.

The Russian Prisons and Exile

THE Bolshevik Government has now "systematized" the treatment of its prisoners in keeping with the spirit of the present Communist dictatorship. Politically an absolutism, economically a primitive capitalism (partly state and partly private), the Government looks more leniently upon crimes of an economic character, while the more severely persecuting its political opponents. With regard to the latter the jurisdiction of the G. P. U. is constantly being broadened, so that it practically possesses today all the extraordinary authority

that when a political has finished his term, he goes free. The fact, however, is that almost without exception such a political is sent into exile by the G. P. U., and practically none of the exiles ever secures entire liberty.

To cite a few instances. In 1921 the social-democrats of Smolensk organized a protest against the massacre of socialists and anarchists in the Butirky (Moscow) Prison, on April 25th. A number of them were sent to prison for that demonstration. Five years have passed since then, but most of those Smolensk men are still in charge of the G. P. U. They were first imprisoned in the Butirky, then transported to Wiatka and to Siberia, again imprisoned in the notorious Solovetski camps, and now they are in exile.

The same applies to the anarchists arrested in Kharkov in October, 1920, on the eve of the Anarchist Congress suppressed by the Bolsheviks in spite of its acknowledged legality. The men and women arrested on that occasion—almost six years ago—are still in prison or exile, as for instance Aron Baron, I. Tcharin, Lea Gootman, Lebdev, Biriulin and others.

A similar fate is being suffered by the Moscow social-democrats arrested in 1922; from the Yaroslav prison to Siberia, thence to Pertominsk, again in the Solovetski Islands, followed by new exile—such is the road of their Golgotha. Numerous other such cases could be mentioned.

In prison as in exile the lot of the politicals is much worse than that of the ordinary offenders. The latter, once in exile, are left in peace. They are not subjected to constant annoyances, searches and transfers, as the politicals are; they are also permitted to accept work and even to engage in business. Moreover, the non-political exiles enjoy the right of amnesty, of liberation before the expiration of their sentences. But the politicals are deprived of all those rights and privileges. Of late they are being sent to the most distant and desolate points of the country, frequently hundreds of miles away from any railroad and thus cut off from communication with the living world. It is generally impossible to secure employment in those little villages, where the natives often do not even speak

socialists and anarchists is to a great extent influenced also by the creation of the prison and G. P. U. dom. The few old revolutionaries are still at the head of prison administration, have in the many years forgotten their former martyrdom in the prisons of the Tsar. They have become hardened in the role of prison keepers. The new elements, on the other hand, are Communists yesterday, so to speak—today they have joined the Party completely. These elements know nothing of the glorious past of the revolutionary movement. The most famous names are unfamiliar to them; they see in them only persons hostile to the existing order, and they are determined to their own well-being at the expense of the prison and G. P. U. regime. They know nothing of the great struggle formerly carried on by revolutionaries with the prison administration, Tsarism, and they constantly endeavor to reduce the Soviet prisons to the level of the old Romanov absolutism.

The result is that *hunger strike* is the only weapon of defence and protest to the politicals, have become a frequent occurrence in Bolshevik prisons. The public learns of them only occasionally. Behind the stone walls there is going on a continuous and desperate struggle, the numerous victims of Bolshevik terror in behalf of the most elementary demands, for the minimum of existence for the least security of personal health. Here revolutionaries of all schools are carrying on a tragic struggle, generally unknown to the world, large and aided by no one. Socialists and anarchists struggle to maintain their revolutionary integrity even at the cost of their lives. As too frequently *suicide* seems the only liberation from that living hell.

AID THE MEN AND WOMEN MARTYRED FOR THEIR IDEALISM.

Delegation Abroad of the Left Socialist Revolutionary Party and Union of Maximalists—L. Steinberg, Representative Moscow Society for Aid to Anarchists Imprisoned in Russia—Alexander Berkman.

Secretary of Joint Committee—Mr. Mrazhny.

ELISEE RECLUS' ANARCHISM

(Continued from page 3)

ditore—he always is the friend, other, the equal, speaking to his with both friendship and dignity are never lacking even in the most cases. His letters to his parents, brother and sister, to his relations, his intimate friends, inspire an and those in which are full of a hearty solidarity which comes from the heart. On what disdainful pride opponents or enemies can as he sees or even upon his anarchism, friends! What an is him by every year the anarchist idea, registers with confidence develops! With what he expresses this perpetually enthusiasm!

are at a loss to tell which of the volumes of the "Correspondence" most interesting. In the first one, for science seems to be the present note in the midst of his ten-family feelings, but, to us anarchists the second part of the second and the whole of the third are interest, for in them one feels of the Paris Commune, of the national, of the first rebellions by the "Révolté" and followed trial of Lyons, of the anarchist period from 1892 to 1894, etc. avel letters are full of verve, of fic data, of historical, ethical and a remarks. Those concerning the beauty of some regions of South ca are really remarkable, so are written while in Italy during the gimento wars, relating his social political impression his views on oldi, on the spirit of the masses n their conditions. Many of letters are indeed of remarkable even from the cold point of view torical documentation: but each ry one of them, in spite of its tone, always bears a social sig-and is the expression of an

taking an attitude of moral adviser. He prefers, and in this he may have gone a little far in his trust of men, to tell some: "Do and you will do well," and others, "Create for yourself a sincere reason and it shall be the real reason." In this regard, we may be permitted to recall that to Kropotkin, who relates the fact and who went to him with the view of cooperating with him in his scientific and propaganda work, he simply said: "Here are some books, please be seated at this desk and do as you think best."

And is not this generous way of placing one's esteem and confidence in one's fellow beings the best educational agent, especially when dealing with sensitive souls which have not as yet been corrupted by their surroundings? To show confidence often suffices to give back self-confidence to one who tends to doubt of his ability. To make men feel that someone esteems them will often make them really good and make them withdraw from evil. Summing up, one can say that, from every point of view, this "Correspondence" has a tremendous educational and ethical value.

Let the young read these pages of faith and light; they certainly will find some which will revive their courage and give them back their serenity troubled by the bitterness and disillusionments of the struggle. Let the fathers read their sons the most beautiful of these letters, let them place these volumes in their hands and they can rest assured that they will thus have sown in the hearts of their dear children seeds which cannot but some day bring forth flowers and fruits of kindness. Let the anarchists make use of this "Correspondence" as of an indispensable tool for propaganda. Those who will come to us after reading these letters will most assuredly be very good comrades, for they will have acquired that solid spiritual foundation without which one may be perfectly able to intellectually comprehend anarchism as a cold theory, but not to feel it as the ideal of human life.

Surely, a program, a theory, systems of agitation, fighting methods, criticism of present institutions, etc., are all necessary, nay, indispensable for the understanding of the anarchist idea, for sentiment alone would leave our good faith defenseless against the man-

The Equitists

Editor, THE ROAD TO FREEDOM:

Will you permit me a few words of comment on a couple of articles in your April issue? First, on the address of Donald Crocker. He defined freedom as "absolute, unconditioned freedom of expression, and freedom of conduct conditioned only by non-interference in the freedom of others," and said that "no one but an anarchist will accept it." Perhaps he never heard of the equitists, but they accept that, which Herbert Spencer called the Law of Equal Freedom. You will find it expressed in the first sentence of our "Equitist Proposition."

Second, on the account of Tcherny's writings. In his statement of the third type he used the word "justice," and afterwards gave a definition of it. I submit that the word "equity" would fit his idea much better and be far more precise and self-explanatory.

His statement that—"Your work, the value of an article, etc., is priced by the amount of labor time employed," is ideal; but it is vitiated by the addition of "the demand for the thing (involving skill and talent)." We do not exchange skill or talent, and the price should include nothing we do not exchange. And the "demand for a thing" is not an element of the "labor time employed" in its making. The moment that duration of the work of production is modified by any other factor, that moment the unit ceases to be a labor (work) unit and becomes a commodity (result) unit.

And if Tcherny had seen this more clearly he would have seen that the pricing of articles by the duration of the work of production would set free from price all the natural resource elements in them, so that, no matter who held title to the locations from which they were drawn, the consumers would have to pay only for that work of production—not anything for those materials. Consequently, possession of locations would give possessors no power to exploit consumers of resources drawn therefrom. So that, his labor-time-checks would automatically secure to everyone an equitable share of natural resources. Nature's bounties would thus be equitably distributed by the equitable exchange of human work.

OUR ACTIVITIES

Real Libertarian First of May Commemoration in San Francisco

More than fifty comrades with their respective families gathered on Sunday, May 2nd at military grounds in Marlon County. The action was a real "beauty spot" amid the California charming Nature's Treasures. The day was invigorating. The festive and good mood was evident among the comrades. The presence of a variety of races and nationalities with the sound of different languages and dialects added multi-interest to the gathering.

Most greatly inspiring was the human mass at the Libertarian Picnic! Just like a vision of the great Walt Whitman. Italian, Jewish, French and some German comrades were there. Men, women and children—young and old; dark, brown and black eyes—and blue, and gray. Groups here and there vividly discussed an Anarchistic; the glories of the past the glorious future—when love, harmony, perfect understanding will become the spring of human life.

Time nearly vanished and the hours passed with intensive and excitement. Comrade Scarceriaux got up and uttered a few hearty words, appealing to comrades present in behalf of the English Anarchist Press: *The Road to Freedom*, No. 1, and *Freedom*, London.

Comrade Cohen followed with a statement, emphasizing the urgent importance of the *Road to Freedom*, an anarchist thought and ideals. English-speaking workers in hesitation the comrades their generous offerings. A splendid result. Those familiar with the needs of our country published in English here. The United States decided to send \$75.00 *Road to Freedom*, and the balance of *Freedom* of London, England.

Ten new subscribers were made during the absence of real English-speaking Americanists was rather conspicuous—not one! Some of the newly arrived Italian comrades wondered and queried whether the *Road to Freedom* ever reaches the American's home. Let us work hard and patiently and see what answer the future offer them.

EL JUDIO ERRANTE.

New Colony Near Los Angeles

In reporting some encouraging news. Our comrades here in Los Angeles formed organization under the name of "New Colony" and decided to take the initiative in the new and live propaganda. Permanent ones will be established. But the most important decision taken was, to build a new colony within the old and intolerable one—a free colony near Los Angeles. A re-working on the proposition brought in encouraging report. We are impatiently

Good News From Detroit

For this summer we have rented Charles' Farm, near Jantton Road, for picnics.

We will give three picnics: First May 30th; second July 4th; third August 18th.

To reach the picnic grounds take a Detroit Motor Bus in front of the Ford plant in Highland Park. The bus will take you to Jantton Road. There you will find trucks and cars to take you to the picnic.

If anyone would like to rent the farm for any other occasion, kindly correspond with Comrade Domenico Testa, 515 Watermans Avenue, Detroit, Mich.

Looking Back and Forward

Looking back upon the past activities of the last season through the viewpoint of a secretary, I believe as a whole the result is most fair and encouraging. Summoning up the activities, we had about 25 lectures, half a dozen entertainments and group meetings and discussions weekly.

In the little headquarters of an ordinary apartment flat, we managed to collect a variety of comrades, sympathizers, antagonists and speakers of half a dozen different speaking languages and many shades and opinions. French, Spanish, Italian, Roumanian, Jewish, English and Russian comrades rubbed shoulders with each other. Our group is truly called *The International Anarchist Group*.

Our lectures were of a fine variety, but always the subjects were near to the rebel workers' heart—whether it was a talk by Joseph Cohen, editor of the *Freie Arbeiter Stimme*, on "Chicago Martyrs," or Bishop Paul Jones on "Spiritual Values," or a talk by Elizabeth Gurley Flynn on "Woman and Her Relations to the Labor Movement," or Abe Winokour, a worker and active member of the group on "Living Anarchism," or a talk by Alexis Fern, who had been principal of the Modern School in Stelton for five years on "The Radical and His Child."

We also had a series of four lectures on Russia, given on Friday evenings by two comrades who had very recently arrived from Russia and who, through their personal experiences of many years in that country, and through their understanding and knowledge of it, were able to give us a scientific analysis of the present regime in Russia and the problems facing it.

Always the discussion following each lecture was real, sincere and though some there are who always come for the seemingly express purpose of speaking against the lecturer, no matter what the subject happens to be, yet in the main, there was a serious groping for the truth in all problems that daily confront our—the workers—lives.

Our entertainments were novel, beginning with the Oriental Night, our Costume Ball, our Italian Fruit Festival, the Russian Night and ending with the Spring Festival. All but the last were successes, socially, materially, and may I say, enjoyably? We were very sorry that Dame Nature was unkind to us for our Spring Festival and only a few brave ones

plans and much enthusiasm. For this dinner we are expecting to have the representatives of all different speaking groups who will each contribute his share of what he thinks should be done toward spreading the *Road to Freedom*, and developing a greater movement.

This very briefly, is my report. To this I can only add that if all those who participated in these past activities will continue to do so, doubling their efforts, and gaining new comrades, we shall within a short time, perhaps, create a real live working movement that will not only broadcast the seeds of our ideal of freedom, but in which each will be ready to take his place when the time comes.

LILLY SARNOFF, Secretary.

International Anarchist Group, New York.

PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED

LETTERS TO JUDD. Upton Sinclair, Pasadena, California.

POOR RELIEF IN PENNSYLVANIA. Emil Frankel, Harrisburg, Pa.

AMOR Y SACRIFICIO. Solano Palacio, Revista. Blanca, Barcelona, Spain.

MATERNIDAD. Federica Montseny, Revista Blanca.

QUI JURE LE CRIMINEL? Clarence S. Darrow. L'en dehors, Orleans, France.

LA LIBERTÉ. Nous allons.

CE TEMPS BONTÉ. Albert Libertad. L'en dehors, Orleans, France.

MONIES RECEIVED

S. Tobin \$1.00; J. Dubois \$1.00; J. Buchle \$1.00; C. L. Swartz \$2.00; Gussie Mogilafsky \$1.00; C. Wakefield \$1.00; The L. Miles \$18.00; Mr. Romao \$1.00; N. Grossman \$1.00; A. Dem \$1.00; V. Murillo \$1.00; A. Rodgers \$1.00; M. Riesgo \$1.00; M. Berch \$1.00; Jos. Spivak, subscriptions \$7.50; single copies \$2.50; S. Katz \$1.00; J. Scarceriaux \$10.00 for 10 subscriptions and \$1.00 for single copies; Circulo Instructivo, \$19.00, per Rico; Dr. M. Cohen \$10.00; Stewart Kerr \$5.00; B. Yellin \$1.00; E. L. Staiduhar \$1.00; A. De Russi \$1.00; Wayne Walden \$1.00; Christ \$1.00; Vegas 50c; Italian comrade, per Lilly Sarnoff \$2.00; Likertie \$2.00.

Pledges for Semi-Monthly at Stelton Dinner—May 16, 1926

John Aronoff \$7.00; Sarah Aronoff \$5.00; D. Blustein \$5.00; L. Keyser \$8.75; A. Schwartz \$10.00; Adolf Axelrod \$5.00; Sully Axelrod \$5.00; A. Blecher \$10.00; B. Forman \$5.00; A. Winokour \$10.00; M. Morris \$5.00; S. Freedman \$5.00; Mary Hanson \$5.00; Pasakson \$5.00; Total \$90.75.

Donations at Stelton Dinner—May 16, 1926

L. Keyser \$1.25; L. Goldblatt \$1.00; Clara Rothberg \$1.00; Lilly Sarnoff \$5.00; Martin Schwartz \$1.00; Collins \$1.00; L. Weiss \$5.00; J. Shubb \$5.00; Riva Hershberg \$5.00; Total \$25.25.

Comrades in San Francisco
Comrades in Los Angeles
\$17.00.

Rc

International Notes

By SLOVAK

GERMANY.—Expropriation and indemnization of the princes takes up considerable space in the columns of our press in Germany, and it is bewildering to read the arguments adduced in favor of participation in the voting, in the present case labelled as "People's decision." Four issues of *Der Freie Arbeiter*, organ of publicity of the federation of the communist anarchists of Germany devote ten columns out of a total of 42 to the subject, and *Der Syndicalist*, organ of the free workmen's union of Germany (Anarcho-syndicalist) in three issues 27 columns out of a total of 72 to that marvelous discussion. And appalling it is to read furthermore the comments favorable contained in an international anarchist symposium, where Max Nettlau, the indefatigable historian of the movement seems to be the only one using good horse sense in dealing with the subject. It almost reads like the apologetic effusions in the press of all shades of the radical left of all lands trying to justify the ideology and action of debacle of radicalism that paralleled the breakdown universal in the structure of humanity of 1914 and after.

A first meeting of War Resisters' International Council was held in Berlin. Present were members of the council from Germany, Austria, Great Britain, Holland, Scandinavia and by substitute also Czecho-Slovakia. French member of council was refused passport on account of opposition voiced against the Moroccan war.

The republic of Germany is reported to lead in political prisoners, having 7,000 in confinement. We are sorry not to have figures on hand for comparison with the "good olden monarchical times."

unemployed in Germany there are a few
 "org" was the
 The cen-
 govern-
 trying

the experience of the past years, else they might have known by now that state and governments are always on the side of the capitalists. The weakness of state aid is best seen in the way unemployment relief is being regulated. The employed workers have to pay a weekly contribution to the state unemployment fund, and relief is given out of this fund. Thus, it is not the state but the workers themselves who are compelled to lay aside for the time they will be out of work. The state obtains this way the reputation of a charitable institution, although it is nothing of the kind. Yet the reformist trade unions participate in this swindle, thus helping to keep the workers in ignorance of the true character of state and authority.

PORTUGAL.—Labor passes through one of the worst crises. To up-to-date application of methods of modern production capitalists of Portugal prefer increased pauperization of working masses by wage reductions, especially industries where labor has but insufficient organization. Hand in hand with this goes political reaction, though organized labor had openly beaten incipient fascism, the "liberal" government seems not to know it, sentencing the leaders of the "victorious" movement of the working class to deportation to Cabo Verde and Guinea, and all organized and individual protests have not brought freedom to the afflicted, not even transfer to more healthful regions than those fever lands.

The "A Batalha" publishes the principles of the revolutionary youth of Portugal as they will be laid before the next (second) congress of the Syndicalist Youth of that country. Here are a number of extracts:

1. *Anarchist foundations.*—The syndicalist youth opposes any kind of authority as well as all written laws and existing social institutions. It aims at the destruction of present society and the erection of a new society built on the principle of freedom and justice which guarantees to every individual welfare and liberty.

2. *Revolutionary syndicalism as the method of action.*—The Syndicalist recognizes the class struggle

world; they are barbarous institutions oppressing, by their weight, the ignorant masses. Every noble feeling is callously killed in youth when in racks; militarism is the enemy of the proletariat; it turns its power against the workers whenever these fight for better conditions of life. Military vice is to be rejected. An international propaganda against militarism is undertaken.

4. *Anti-authoritarian propaganda.*—Inasmuch as the existence of authority oppresses the initiative of the individual, it is necessary to fight authority. Disobedience of law and the of the individual and of against authority is necessary.

5. *Revolutionary action.*—In propaganda, every action must be directed against the ruling class; revolutionary and libertarian; must never be lost sight of that may be undertaken.

6. *Opposition to political parties.*—All political parties, may they call themselves "revolutionary" are fought against. The syndicalist is equally opposed to the bourgeois parties as well as to the Party, and considers the latter of destruction of the revolutionary movement.

7. *Common action.*—In against capitalist society and the close union with the anarchist and revolutionary organizations will be aimed at.

MEXICO.—The socialist government with Calles at its head, has attended with the aid of the reformist—or yellow-regional Confederation of I of Mexico (C. R. O. M.) to destroy revolutionary textile workers' affiliated to the anarcho-syndical General Confederation of Labor (T.), which is the Mexican section of the I. W. M. A. With this end in the CROM reached an agreement with the capitalists: in every dispute between workers and employers a member of the CROM will act as adviser to employers. This led to the result that the workers often enough turn against the CROM. This happened in the Iruia factory, Mexico City, where workers, belonging to the CROM

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Farmers Write Letters

Steps Are Taken To Organize in Western Minn.

Plans Made at New York Mills Meeting

New York Mills, Minn.—Minutes of meeting to consider the problem of organizing groups to carry on educational work among farmers.

In response to a call sent out a meeting was held on Sunday, May 22, at the Finnish hall, in New York Mills.

There was present at this meeting some twenty-five farmers and workers in the farm industry. The meeting was informal. The question of getting to the farmers to organize them and to extend the influence of the United Farmer was dealt with.

No Taxes on Improvements

Dr. E. A. Cowles, now a farmer near Detroit Lakes, who was very active in the Nonpartisan League movement, gave a short talk on organization, reviewing briefly some of the methods of League days. He said that the only way to proceed in the present case was to go ahead and organize instead of talking about it. He suggested the adoption of a very short program, one that could be easily grasped by the farmers, and mentioned two "planks" that would appeal to all farmers—a bank guaranty law, and another advocating the division of the gasoline tax, part of it to be used for the building and maintaining of side roads, which would be of greater benefit to the farmers than trunk lines only.

He also mentioned the matter of taxation, and believed that a law to exempt farm improvements would not only be perfectly just but would also appeal to the farmers. Leah and Smalley, both farmers near Detroit Lakes supported Cowles' remarks.

Series of Meetings

At this point one of the Finnish farmers near New York Mills suggested that a committee be formed to draft a program and to arrange a series of meetings at which the program could be presented. James Pearson, editor of the *Farmer-Labor*, was

bosses and against every kind of oppression.

Freedom for China, Nicaragua

On May Day, 1927, what do we find? The American government, doing the dirty work of the Wall Street bankers, has sent battleships and armed men to China, waging war against the Chinese people who are fighting for their freedom just as the United States did in 1776.

And what about Mexico and Nicaragua? Yes, they are also countries enslaved by United States imperialism. And so on this May Day we gather for demonstration to show our brotherly solidarity with the Chinese workers and workers of other enslaved countries.

Young Farmers Render Play

A play, "The Capitalist Daymare," was given by the Young Workers League and after that there were many recitations, poems, songs, too numerous to mention, by the Young Pioneers and also adults.

In closing the program, the "International" was sung, a majority taking part in the singing. Lunch was then served by the ladies, after which we left for home feeling: Long live the International May Day!

White Earth, N.D. Farmers to Unite Under F. L. P. Flag

Will Organize Locally and Demand Rights; Send Telegram to Gov. Fuller

By James Pearson

White Earth, N. D. — Now when everybody both young and old are busy with the work, trying to again put mother earth in shape to produce another crop, hoping against all odds to get a little bit more to live off, to pay for things already bought, or to be bought, a thought came to me as I was going down the river. Where is the farmer? Who don't these who work and have ready set enough of the land to be able to pay for the things they need? Who don't these who

the Farmer-Labor banner to victory for the masses

Telegram to Governor

At the meeting mentioned following telegram was sent Fuller of Massachusetts:

"We, the undersigned citizens of the state of North Dakota, demand a new trial for Vanzetti and all with heard." Fifteen men signed their names to the

Brother farmers all over do likewise. Protest a murdering of these two farmers. Remember, after July it is too late.

Not Much Interest Shown In Elections in

Bankers, Politicians and Winners

By O. F. Carlson

Menno, S. D.—The city of South Dakota are again a history, with the evidence little interest was taken by as shown by the number of

Wherever a candidate has plan for the management appeared a heavy vote against him. The dead pass rather than the living pre crucifixion of Christ has 1 son.

Heavy Bonded Debt

Practically every city in the state is burdened with a heavy debt. This seems to be the only people know of managing a city politician seems to do for a city.

Plans for a future city prominently appear in the papers the city dads with the when improvements must be made and debt is incurred. How can we pay?

Menno has no exception to the rule. For re-election

FARMER

S' EDUCATIONAL LEAGUE

A, MAY, 1927.

Send Us Your
News And Facts

Number 3.

38931

of Cotton farmers' Poverty on "Conservatism"

ington (FP)—In a statement
g that small cotton farmers
all cotton belt of the South
to the lowest depths of pov-
retary of Agriculture Jardine
e statement that "Tradition-
atism and lack of contact
r communities are consid-
principal obstacles of the
c advancement o fthese peo-

small farmers in Georgia,
discloses, are meeting the
tion of the newer cotton re-
western Texas and western
na, where large-scale produc-
t methods and modern machinery
n adopted, by "accepting un-
low income and notably re-
standard of living."

record obtained from 258
arm families in Gwinnett coun-
tical Piedmont district, showed
age net cash income in 1924
\$424 per family. These fami-
aged 5 persons each.

cash income was supplement-
ed, fuel and shelter from the
estimated to be worth \$396
ily. Their actual outlay for
living averaged only \$291.
them are tenants, and of the
families 34 per cent lived in
with only one thickness of

About 100000 white tenant
in the old cotton belt east of
Mississippi river live at or below
ndard.

N FINE, HEAVY RN--IS CHEAPER UEL THAN COAL

ord Stands in the Way of
Progress

By J. L. S. —
er, Texas. — I
over the situation
of The United

LAW DOES NOT WORK

Wing, N. D.—The last legisla-
ture passed a Seed and Feed law
which was to help the farmers
with their farming operations
this year. However, it is evident
to everybody that the law does
not operate in the interest of the
farmers who really need assist-
ance.

Those farmers who still owe
the county for seed and feed
loans cannot take advantage of
the provisions of the new law.
They must first pay up the old
loans. Realizing that the farm-
ers of this county (Burleigh)
did not get any crop last year,
we may know what position they
are in.

A PROMINENT CO- OPERATOR DIES AT CLARK, S. D.

Also Strong Farmer-Laborite

Special to The United Farmer.

Clark, S. D.—A sad accident befell
one of the prominent citizens and
residents of this locality when James
A. Grant was struck by an auto and
fatally injured, causing his death soon
afterwards.

Mr. Grant came to South Dakota in
1882 and filed on a homestead engag-
ing actively in farming here. He was
much interested in political move-
ments, being elected as state senator
from Clark county in 1896. He was
recognized as one of the best read and
best informed men in this commu-
nity.

A Co-operator

J. A. Grant was also one of the
strongest advocates of the Farmer-
Labor party in the state and it was
largely through his and a few other

WORLD POOL THE AIM OF MEETING AT KANSAS CITY

United States, Canada, Australia,
Russia Send Delegates

By Hugo Oehler

Kansas City, Mo.—The world parley
of the wheat growers held their sec-
ond conference in Kansas City May
5, 6, and 7, with over 250 delegates
present, representing the United
States, Canada, Australia and Soviet
Russia.

The Canadian delegation was a
dominating factor in the sessions with
the United States having the major-
ity of delegates representing nine
state pools. The Soviet delegation
consisted of Paul G. Bron as chair-
man, Mr. Ohsol, vice president of the
Amtorg Trading Corporation and five
other representatives.

U. S. Growers Hold Session

A day before the opening confer-
ence delegates from nine American
wheat pools held a conference hoping
to consolidate their forces for better
national cooperation and to formulate
plans for the sessions the following
days. The national committee elected
are: Bruce Lampson, Colo.; W. B.
Bosworth, Minn.; C. W. Croes, S. D.;
J. Manley, Okla.; Ernest Frisell, Neb.;
E. R. Downie, Kansas; E. B. Benner,
Ind.; A. J. Scott, N. D.; and Judge L.
Gough of Texas.

The wheat growers represent nine
pools with 75,000 members and 200
delegates to the conference. The com-
modity contract plan of marketing
the wheat, handling this one product,
with members delivering their wheat
through the pool for a specified num-
ber of years, is carried out by the ma-
jority of the pools.

The national conference closed its
sessions without announcing if they
reached a basis for cooperation be-
tween themselves as desired.

The wheat growers of this country
each section
making it
ing agency
great extent

W. B. O. M.

Relief Through
Your Own Party

THE UNITED

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE UNITED FARMERS

Volume II.

Subscription Price, \$1.00 Per Year

BISMARCK, NORTH DAKOTA

CONDITIONS ARE VERY FAVORABLE FOR MINN. F. L. P.

People Disgusted With Old
Parties

By H. G. Teigan

Minneapolis, Minn.—While it is nearly a year in advance of the campaign of 1928, it is not too early to take inventory of the present situation in this state.

Minnesota is the home of the Farmer-Labor party. It is in Minnesota that the party has really reached a position of power. In several other states it is true the party exists, but it has never attained any strength of consequence. In speaking of The Farmer-Labor party, however, I do not mean to include the Progressive of Idaho which is a powerful organization and ranks second in that state.

Conditions Favorable for Victory

Two things are essential to political success: Conditions and organization.

In Minnesota we have the conditions. The economic status of the farmers and workers is such as would naturally arouse resentment and fight. Moreover the political strength of the opposition is at low ebb. This is true of the national administration and is equally a fact as regards the Republican party in the state.

President Coolidge has today, I should say, about the same standing that Harding had in 1923. He stands discredited primarily because of his refusal to countenance any genuine farm relief legislation and also because of the innumerable evidences of corruption that attach to his administration.

Crippled Schools by Vetoes

Governor Theodore Christlanson is in no better position than is the President. The Governor is a bitter

Business Men Kid Farmers by Study Of Their Problems

Boys and girls clubs on the farms appear to be the solution of the agricultural problem, in the eyes of the National Industrial Conference Board, which has just made public a report of its Business Men's Commission on Agriculture.

The board is maintained by big employers to handle their research problems and to mold public opinion through "factual" studies. Under Charles Nagel, it has been studying the farm problem with the idea of letting the farmers see how interested business men are in their wretched lot and how willing they are to lead the agrarians out of the economic desert.

But no legislation of lasting worth will be recommended, the board intimates, inasmuch as agricultural groups were found to be badly split on the question.

NATIONALISTS ARE SWEEPING NORTH; WILL TAKE PEKIN

Chang Loses; Great Britain
Moves for War

Hankow, China — The Nationalist armies are sweeping northward towards Peking. The prediction is made by Nationalist leaders that the revolutionary forces will occupy Peking within three months. Important towns en route have already been captured together with many men and military supplies.

War Lord Losing

Chang Tso-lin's position, northern war lord, who flirts with the imperialists, is facing tremendous opposition from the farmers, workers, students and many merchants and his fall appears a question of time.

SO. DAK. BANKING DEPARTMENT ROBS MEN WHOM IT OWES

Heirs' Claims Against Department
\$2189; They Owe
Only \$958

By Helen Hines

Cuthbert, S. D.—The banking department of South Dakota has its problems to be solved and these are not easy, one must admit; but certainly their problems would be more readily solved and the department would promote justice to a more marked degree if it recognized the claims of persons against the department as it does the claims of the department against individuals, corporations, estates etc.

Claims Against Department

The heirs of Peter Peterson of Cuthbert, S. D., have claims against the banking Department of South Dakota and also the national banking department as follows, represented in guaranty fund certificates:

Cuthbert Bank	\$ 826.00
Mitchell First National	480.00
Woonsocket First National....	48.00
Storia Bank	168.00

Total

In addition, the following heirs have individual claims against the department:

Peter L. Peterson	\$167.00
Arthur Peterson	90.00
George Peterson	100.00
Louis Peterson	300.00
Norman Bryce	10.00

Total

Is It Just?

This shows a total of \$2,189.00 in claims against the banking department by the heirs of Peter Peterson. Against that the heirs owe the banking department \$958.00 which the department insists on collecting.

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they have exposed their duplicity by dining with president Coolidge.

Some day the farmer will get wise to the shell game and unite with the Farmer-Labor party.

None Except The Actual Farmers Should Own Land

M. C. Says He Is a Farmer Though Not Farming

By John H. Hanson

Oacoma, S. D. — The member of congress from our district sent us some dope on farm relief printed on the government printing presses.

It seems as if he had some plan for farm relief. I do not know for sure but I believe it would be a safe bet that every senator and every M. C. from the agricultural districts has got some plan of farm relief of their own. By the time we try them all we will surely be relieved. It seems that we are pretty well relieved now of all we have, except our whiskers and our appetites.

Land For Users

I wrote the M. C. and told him that the only agricultural program that I had seen that in my estimation was worth while was the program of The Progressive Farmers of America, who demand that the farm lands of all the states be surveyed as to their productivity and the production certain lands are adapted to, and that each farm family of the United States be allotted enough land to provide them with a decent living. This land to remain in their possession and in their children's possession as long as they live upon it and cultivate its soil, use and occupancy to constitute the title to such land.

Not Actual Farmers

The M. C. gave me a very nice reply, in which he tells me that he also is a farmer although he is not at present engaged in actual and personal farming. He has got his earnings, got 'v hard work and long hor

other worthies should slip a cog so that it would be incumbent on them to engage in the grief called farming, personally and actually, there would be nothing to hinder them from doing so on the same basis as the rest of us who use the land.

Reimburse Worthy Cases

As far as working hardship in some cases, with the government taking over the land for the users, a little curtailment of the military program for the protection of the outlying provinces of Wall Street, would create a fund which could be used for the reimbursement of worthy cases. Such curtailment of military program would also lessen the danger of Wall Street plunging the country into another bloody and destructive war.

So if the M. C. has made a bad investment and got something on his hands which he cannot use viz, land, let him be reimbursed by the government from the military fund.

But no one should be allowed to hold land for the purpose of exploiting the user of land.

Collaboration Between Producers and Consumers' Cooperatives

The world economic conference of the League of Nations (May, 1927, at Geneva) will also deal with the question of international collaboration between producers and consumers' cooperative societies. (Point 3) "Agriculture" contains the following proposals:

1. The present position of agriculture compared with the pre-war period with respect to production, consumption, stocks of goods, prices and free exchange of agricultural produce.

2. Causes of the present difficulties.

3. Possibilities of international measures of help:

(a) Development and international collaboration between producers and consumers' cooperatives, INCLUDING THE VARIOUS FORMS OF COOPERATIVE ASSOCIATIONS.

(b) Continuous exchange of information on the general position of agriculture, scientific and technical investigation

salary, also voted for that damnable elevator bill at the last session to make it harder on the farmers?

Mr. New Member, you state all you had to do was to give Sorlie a hint to veto certain bills. Can you ever mention a time that Sorlie was with the League until the I. V. A. drove him there at the last session? I think the I. V. A. got tired having one of Sorlie's feet in their camp and one in the League, so in order to kick him out the boys from Cass county put some bills over that they knew he would have to veto in order to further fool the farmers, as one member put it: I tell you Sorlie lambasted those I.V.A. the last week of the session. Sure Mike!

Buys From Line Houses

We can recall only one instance when the League functioned good and that was when A. C. Townley herded our members that so wisely put such good laws on our statute books, as our insurance laws, the Bank of North Dakota, the Mill and Elevator, and if any member transgressed he was called on the carpet at once by A. C. and if he did not come through right he was kicked out and we all knew about it through our official organ. But not so now, and we are all disgusted with your wishy-washy pie counter bunch! Nothing said in it why Sorlie is buying wheat from the old line companies in Montana and shipping it across our state of North Dakota over three miles.

Why does he do this? That Mill and Elevator was built by us North Dakota people to benefit the people of North Dakota, and not Montana. I had a member of the Equity Exchange tell me two months ago that Governor Sorlie absolutely refuses to buy wheat from us, and that shows how he is with the League. Why did your caucus at the last session let him off with that stuff? He should have been called on the carpet to tell us why he is doing it and account for the loss, if not a complete wreck of that institution. Come on, smelling committee, give us a report on the mill and elevator, and don't wait till after the fact.

I am yours truly,

The Farmers Under the Soviets

A Series of Articles on Village Life at Present in the Grain Growing Sections of the Soviet Union

Written After a Stay of Four Months on a Soviet Government Farm in the Northern Caucasus

By Karl Reeve

(This is the eighth article by Karl Reeve on farm life in the Soviet Union. Another article will appear in the June number of The United Farmer.)

Tractor Transforms Agriculture

The Russian farmer is diligent and in earnest and is anxious to complete the industrialization of his country. He knows that it will increase his production, enable him to cultivate more land, free from the slavery of long hours on the farm, and perhaps most important of all, put in his hands a weapon with which to fight the kulak. The kulak has tried to keep his hold on the farmers who have no horses or tractors with which to cultivate their land by wanting them his horses or bicks in return for their labor on his land. But the farmers know that when, combined in collectives, they obtain a tractor by means of government aid they are thus made independent of the exploitation of the kulak. I saw one example of this in the village of Orlovka where six farmers had banded together and had bought a tractor by means of credit granted by the government bank.

The day I visited these farmers they had been having trouble with their tractor. Only one of them had been to the tractor school and his three months there had not been sufficient to make him an expert. His tractor was broken down as he had trouble with the carburetor. A wealthy peasant happened along the road and chided the poor farmers for "wasting so much time," he said. "Drive my bicks (oxen) you hit them and they go without any waste of time." The farmers persevered, however, and later in the day a repair man from the station at Pettygorisk adjusted the trouble and the farmers put in their grain without the necessity of being obligated to a kulak.

On Modern Lines

The village of Neena which boasts of 10,000 population is another center of tractorization in the Northern Caucasus. The government planned to make this a tractor hub as well as

buildings and in the village club-house. In the rayon there are eight reading rooms and in addition children's libraries are being established. There are two adult schools for those already having some education which specialize in political training. There is the Method Bureau whose purpose is to develop education in the rayon. There is also the Narodni Dom (People's House) in each village where plays and lectures are given.

At the present time peasants purchase the textbooks for their children, but the Mutual Aid society buys books for those whose parents are unable to pay. There are 26 primary schools giving a four year course and one school for farm youth giving a three year technical training. The poorer children are given preference in the school. All the schools, as well as many of the other institutions of the rayon have wall newspapers.

Solves Problem of Homeless

In the Terski district there are 29 children's homes with 2,500 inmates. In addition there are two colonies in the district to care for homeless waifs. One at Mineralni Bodi houses two hundred children and there is a smaller one at Georgefsk. The latter has 200 des. of land attached, is well stocked with animals and owns one tractor. A number of the older children are being taught tractor driving. In both colonies the children make their own clothes and do their own building. A large proportion of them are members of the Young Pioneers or Comsomols. According to a recent article in Pravda there were 200,000 homeless children, quite a discrepancy between this figure and the mis-statement of the Literary Digest that there are four million of them.

In the village of Archangelskoe there is a home which at the time of my visit had eighteen girls and nine boys altogether. Although this is far from a model home and the Soviet authorities are talking of putting the children out with private families they all appeared well fed, healthy and contented. Their ages ranged from

new seed, cattle breeding and other agricultural enterprises are to be established. It is also contemplated to build this year work shop for the fixing up of machinery and also an oil factory.

Foresee Merger in Cotton Industry to Get Bigger Profits

The American Wool and Cotton Reporter, leading employer trade paper in textiles, hopes to see the competitive cotton manufacturing industry merge into one great trust. Its leading editorial in the May 19 convention issue is an argument for a national cotton goods monopoly.

The editorial hails the joint convention of cotton employers associations at Atlantic City as possibly the first steps towards such a combine. This convention brought together for the first time in ten years the National Cotton Manufacturers Association, representing New England mills, and the American Cotton Manufacturers Association, the southern group.

The argument for monopoly is profits. The Cotton Reporter points to the 14 1-2 average profit on sales netted by the U. S. Steel Corporation and says the textile industry cannot hope for such earnings till it combines.

Effect on Labor

Nothing is said of the effect of such a monopoly on labor and prices. But the history of the formation of the U. S. Steel Corporation shows more efficient warfare on labor unions and stiffer prices—steel rails alone jumping from \$17 to \$28 a ton almost immediately.

The significance of the American Wool and Cotton Reporter's editorial but reflects leading employer opinion. At the convention referred to President William B. MacColl of the New England association said: "The general trend, I believe, in the cotton industry is toward consolidation, either through the selling houses or by the amalgamation of manufacturing units converting and selling their own products."

Farmers Should Use

ment machinery & further that is happening in countryside where the fascists, ts, are in control. Ship of coal mines, railroads of benefit to the vast the farmers and workers, their own government.

REVOLUTION. over the world with Chiang Kai-shek's betrayal cause, thinking that this is supported by the impious Revolution.

Britain is seriously against the Hankow government leaders, loyal to the Chang Tso-lin-the war is supported by the impious that no real split in these columns rejectedly must succeed the root in the ideals and assassinations of the Chinese people and workers.

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d appeared to be coming, that the movement month the farmers are working the upper hand.

SAID OF RUSSIA

ment is getting desperate. now but that the British empire is going to

British capitalists in Soviet is hated because of the losing their prestige and

of the oppressed peoples by the ideas let loose by and are willing to follow up of the Workers' and the Soviet Union.

affair. The

THE UNITED FARMER

Official Monthly Organ of

THE UNITED FARMERS' EDUCATIONAL LEAGUE

Bismarck North Dakota

Subscription Price, \$1.00 Per Year.

Entered as second-class matter May 19, 1926, at the post office at Bismarck, North Dakota, under the act of March 3, 1879.

Advertising Rates on Application

THE FARMERS AND FLOOD RELIEF

Coolidge is being urged to call an extra session of Congress to deal with the Mississippi flood situation.

There can be no question but that it must be given serious attention. Hundreds of thousands are homeless and millions in property damage have been sustained.

Some congressmen go so far as to say that the government should appropriate at least one billion dollars for flood relief.

Coolidge and Hoover are stalling on the proposition. They don't want an extra session for fear that the true conditions in the flood district might be revealed. Engineers tell us that breastworks and levees constructed to prevent damage from floods are of faulty construction.

The greatest sufferers from the floods are the farmers and workers.

Hoover, in his "great magnanimity," is making arrangements with bankers in the south to loan the farmers money in order to give them "relief." This can only mean that the bankers will profit through new interest charges. The farmers certainly have suffered enough from this evil.

Farmers of the South must be alive to the situation created by the flood. The capitalists are ready to "cash in" on the misery they are in and they should protest in no uncertain tones against the maneuvers of Coolidge and Hoover.

The best the masses of flood sufferers can do is to organize in their own interest and more than ever become energetic champions in furthering the Farmer-Labor movement.

Real flood relief, as well as farm relief, can only come through the action of the farmers and workers themselves.

LINDBERGH'S FATHER

Charles A. Lindbergh, the aviator who went in his monoplane from New York to Paris in a non-stop flight, is acclaimed by the masses of people all over the world. No doubt it was a heroic feat.

It is interesting to know something about the father of this boy. It is reported in the press that young Lindbergh is a very modest and unassuming person, seeking no publicity and no honors. This is to his credit.

Lindbergh's father spent a good deal of his

openly use the government machinery to further their ends. This is what is happening in countries like Italy and Poland where the fascists, who serve the capitalists, are in control.

Government ownership of coal mines, railroads, etc., will only be of benefit to the vast masses of the people, the farmers and workers, when they establish their own government.

THE CHINESE REVOLUTION

The imperialists all over the world with the greatest delight Chiang Kai-shek's betrayal of the Nationalist cause, thinking this would effectively stop the onward, victorious march of the Chinese Revolution.

What is actually happening?

The fact that Great Britain is seriously considering open war against the Hankow government and that the Chinese leaders, loyal to the Revolution, are defeating Chang Tso-lin the war lord of the north, who is supported by the imperialists, is very good proof that no real "split" has occurred in the Chinese liberation movement.

We have stated in these columns repeatedly that the Chinese Revolution must succeed for the reason that it has its root in the ideals and aspirations of the broad masses of the Chinese people, namely the farmers and workers.

No leader, no matter how big he may regard himself to be, can stifle and thwart the movement. The miserable showing of Chiang Kai-shek is pretty good evidence of this.

It is interesting to note in this connection that the son of Chiang Kai-shek, who is a student in the Sun Yat Sen university in Moscow has repudiated the stand taken by his father and has aligned himself wholeheartedly and enthusiastically on the side of the genuine revolutionary forces in China, as represented by the Hankow government.

Chiang's treachery was not at all of any real danger to the successful development of the Chinese revolution.

A "split" of this kind appeared to be coming, and the result of it is that the movement moving towards the left, with the farmers and workers and students gaining the upper hand.

This is as it should be.

ENGLAND AFRAID OF RUSSIA

The British government is getting desperate. There can be no question now but that the British Tories are afraid that the empire is going to smash.

The target of the British capitalists is Soviet Russia. Soviet Russia is hated because of the fact that they are fast losing their prestige and power in Asia.

Hundreds of millions of the oppressed peoples in the east are inspired by the ideas let loose by the Russian revolution and are willing to follow the ideological leadership of the Workers' and Farmers' Republic of the Soviet Union.

This is a small free office. The rest

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dine's offer the California 'Criminal Syndical-
ll be an ism' law one of the most reactionary
ions of the opinions anded down by this body, in
the last decade. The supreme court
has given a legal sanction to one
of the most vicious pieces of capital-
ist class legislation in the country.

Under the California law, many of
the best labor fighters have been
rushed in prison with the barest
pretense a trial, usually presided
over by twenty anti-red judges.

"The decision of the Supreme
court will be a precedent for the con-
tinuation of the other 'criminal syn-
dicalism' and 'criminal anarchy' laws
in other states that have been used
for similar purposes. It means the
revival of the legalization of a whole
set of 'Alien and Sedition Laws' which
existed about 150 years ago and
which were repudiated by virtually
the entire American people.

Opinion Prejudiced
"The obvious class prejudice which
went into the opinion of the supreme
court proves conclusively again the
need of organizing a strong, united
national working class movement for
the elimination of these capitalist
class laws and the clipping of the
claw which have already taken their
bitter toll of labor men and women.

"A movement must be begun
immediately, especially in California
where a law has been used most
viciously and widely, for the release
of all 'criminal syndicalism' pris-
oners, the removal of the law from
the state books and the re-establish-
ment of the fight of all labor orga-
nizations to function freely and openly
without molestation from the legal
tool of the manufacturing bank-
ers, and business men of reactionary
California.

"Every labor organization through-
out the country must immediately ex-
press its protest at this latest anti-
labor act of the supreme court."

REAL LIFE IN CUBA
By Sotomayor (Cuba)
United States imperialism, the tentacles which are closing more and more tightly around the neck of Cuba, is exacting sacrifices and privations from the people of Cuba which are beyond all human endurance.

Conditions Bad
Wages have fallen during the last few years by 50 per cent, whereas prices of commodities of prime neces-

and when the workers come to get their money they are told there is none. They must take all their wages in goods, the prices of which are sometimes over 100 per cent above the wholesale prices.

The owners of the sugar plantations, as well as the tenant planters, are also exploited by the sugar companies. They are compelled to get all their sugar cane refined in the refineries of their districts. That latter charge 50 per cent of the product for this. The farmers must sell their sugar also to the same companies at prices dictated by the latter. The truth of the matter is that the planters are merely foremen over the farmhands placed there by the sugar companies.

Brutal Treatment

The American and Cuban bourgeoisie are very much afraid of any strike disturbances on the fields, because, owing to the shortage of hands in the harvesting season, the slightest interference with its work would cause them enormous loss. This is why the local government forces being the agents of United States capitalism, do their utmost to crush any agitation or protest. Imprisonment, beating up, evictions from homes, expulsion of undesirable foreigners from the country and finally executions without any trial or charge—such are the methods used against the more aggressive farming elements.

This year the farm-hands have been forbidden to carry with them the knives used for cutting sugar-cane except when they are at work, for in case of need they could serve as weapons.

Apart from that the government and the Yankee capitalists resort to other measures; for instance, they have imported from Haiti 29,000 Negroes. These Negroes are treated as slaves. They are to serve as a reserve to be set to work as strike-breakers in case of a strike of the agricultural workers.

These measures were adopted on the initiative of the United States capitalists.

The Cuban farmers and farm-hands have hard battles ahead, but in these battles they will have the support of the industrial proletariat whose struggles have many a time had the support of the agricultural proletariat.

Soft Fruits Failure; Apple Crop Normal

(Continued from Page 1)
a good crop, but a little early to tell yet.

Small Grain Good
This is the best dope I can give you at this time, but in another month can give you the exact condition. We had the hardest freeze for the month of April there has been since I have been in the state and that has been 20 years.

Small grains are looking fine and with favorable weather from now on will reap a good crop, but June is the month that tells whether we get a good crop of grain or not.

J. L. Freeman.
P. S.—Enclosed find check for one dollar for The United Farmer.

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IF FOREIGNERS DID TO US AS WE DO TO CHINA?

Celebration at Frederick; Axel
Ohrn Speaks

Special to The United Farmer
Frederick, S. D.—The local farmers and laborers arranged an interesting May Day celebration at the Savo hall on April 30. A large number was present, showing that they are interested in affairs prevailing in the present order (the capitalist) of society, and that they want to remedy these by organizing.

Like Times in 1776

Among the many numbers on the program was a speech delivered by Axel Ohrn in a very able manner. The speaker first called attention to the time when we declared our independence from England, saying that England had treated the early colonists in a rather inhuman way by laying heavy tax burdens on their shoulders, limiting free speech and the colonists' legal rights in general.

The speaker then analyzed the prevailing situation in China, said that the Chinese are at present confronted with the same economic and political struggles. In solving the Chinese problems we note that our country and many others have taken steps to put down the Chinese farmers' and laborers' struggle by force. In other words, the imperialistic nations have forgotten how dear freedom was to them, otherwise they wouldn't be sending armed forces there to mix up with the affairs of China.

If Other Countries Grabbed U. S.?

Now for a little comparison regarding what it means when we say that the foreign powers are mixing in the Chinese people's domestic affairs. Supposing that the Japs would come here to California and say this is our territory (they probably would call it "neutral," too) and then the Bolsheviks would claim the state of New York, for instance, as their territory, and the Canadians would claim title to some other state and Mexico also. Now then, after all the "claiming" done by these foreign countries, do you suppose there would be one full-blooded American who wouldn't take the same action and drive these different claimers out of our country?

U. S. Should Withdraw Forces

The Chinese are doing the same thing as we are doing to them.

ural banks and co-operatives by the government.

5. The prohibition of collecting taxes in advance (special committees with representatives from the peasant leagues are set up to see that these decisions are materialized).

6. The improvement of the rural education system.

7. The establishment of local self-government.

WORLD POOL THE AIM OF MEETING AT KANSAS CITY

(Continued from Page 1)

Mr. Brown pointed out that the co-operatives of Russia were ready for international action to eliminate speculation at the expense of the farmers.

At present the wheat export of Soviet Russia is 30 per cent of the pre-war total and within two years there will be over 100 million bushels. The seeding this year will exceed the 1913 figures.

The cooperative wheat growers in Russia receive a per cent of the market price when they deliver their export wheat, and at the end of the season they are given the remainder. This plan is carried out in other countries and the developing co-operatives of Russia are doing likewise.

Peasants Own Land

Mr. Bron explained: "In increasing our wheat production there is this significant thing to bear in mind, the Russian farmers are producing for themselves now instead of for some landlord."

Basis For Pools

During the war Russia left the field of wheat export to other countries and in that time Canada, Australia, Argentine and especially the United States increased their acreage. The post-war period, with financial capitalism unstable, with an under-consumption of wheat due to world conditions of credits, brought a slump in the wheat market that has brought great loss to many of the wheat growers in these countries which increased their production.

Purely out of necessity of capitalist conditions which are chaotic, with speculators reaping the harvest, the individualistic farmers of America were forced to follow the agrarian cooperative movement of the world as a salvation for their needs. In spite of their adoption to cooperative

cate of the McNary Haugen Bill that was vetoed.

The American representatives have not come to a common understanding and many are still in the swamp of capitalist economy. Jardine's offer has followers and this will be an issue in the coming sessions of the states' pool sessions.

Cotton Grower of South Is at Mercy of Banks

Can't Furnish Themselves;
Unite With Workers

By J. Stidman, M. D.

Annona, Texas—On this beautiful May Day our deflated, dispossessed and discouraged farmers are planting another cotton crop with less prospect of getting anything for it than last year's crop, which busted them, to try to pay off their mortgages.

Landlord-Banker Rules

Between the boll weevil and the bale weevil the farmers lose everything except the mortgage.

The farms are largely owned by men who are both landlord-bankers and merchants. In Annona there are only two merchants able to furnish the farmers. Both of them are large land-holders and bankers. Much of the farmer boosting—all of it I should have said—is put out by those who farm the farmer.

Can't Furnish Themselves

The erstwhile small, independent farmer is as hard hit as the renter. In fact some of them are leaving their farms and renting from those big landlords who are able to furnish them, after they tie up their belongings and crop which they are to make in consideration for the favor. This furnishing is only through the working period of the crop, that is, from planting to laying by time.

There is very little outside of cotton growing here for one to engage in for a living. Everything else is gone to the bad along with the cotton growing. Indebtedness, nakedness, destitution is all that the future holds for the workers of the south. I am told this county has the heaviest delinquent tax list ever. It also lacks school and road funds etc.

Nothing to Lose But Mortgages

In view of such conditions and prospects the farmers are going to be compelled to turn elsewhere for relief.

statement

"The drastic supreme court and the Villander the Clifordism' law one opinions and the last year has given the the mo. i list class gi Under thi Ca the best ab rushed in pretense a over by ven "The cis court wibe a tinuation of t dicalism: ind in other state for smia p revival of l set of Ah, a existed out which we r the entireAm ipini

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League candidate for governor in 1912, during the war period, when hysteria was rampant.

It took some courage to face the conditions which prevailed at that time and the old Lindbergh was the storm center in the political pot which was then boiling at fever heat. League organizers and speakers were tarred and feathered right and left and driven out of towns by hoodlums and businessmen's organizations. A political war was on.

Lindbergh stood the test. Though it was dangerous to go into many localities, where he was scheduled to speak, he did not weaken. In one town in Jackson county, where he had been promised protection by the state's Safety Commission, he was arrested for being "disloyal."

It was evident that the county authorities, subservient to the state authorities, merely tricked Lindbergh into the county in order to have him arrested.

He fought the Wall Street war-makers.

Tens of thousands of farmers all over the northwest knew Lindbergh personally, and though the Nonpartisan League was not a class movement among the farmers, he was regarded by them as the spokesman for their interests.

The qualities of courage and modesty, attributed to the younger Lindbergh, was to a marked degree also shown by his late father.

SOCIALISM—OR WHAT?

The Bismarck (N. D.) Tribune has this to say: "The socialistic doctrine of yesterday is the mainstay of tomorrow's conservatives; the man who was a radical in the gay nineties finds himself classed as a tory in the year 1927."

The paper also makes the statement that Wall Street is no longer afraid of socialism, being sympathetic towards government ownership of coal mines, etc.

The inference drawn from this is that we are progressing and that even Wall Street is coming our way. Of course, it is nothing of the kind. Capitalist society does not evolve in that way at all.

Wall Street isn't scared about mentioning government ownership of this and that industry for the reason that it feels it can control the situation anyhow.

They would not be in favor of the kind of public ownership which would benefit the vast masses of farmers and workers of America. Whenever the question of which class is to control, comes up for consideration, Wall Street will be found fighting valiantly for Wall Street's interests.

During the world war the government of the United States "took over" the railroads and other industries in order to administer them efficiently, supposedly in the interest of the people generally. We know what happened. Over 20,000 millionaires were created and 80 billion dollars of war profits piled up!

When the Wall Street capitalists no longer can control things by "democratic" methods they will

bring out the other imperialistic power and their tools, draws its inspiration from Soviet Russia.

Sun Y. Sen, who started the Chinese liberation movement, was an ardent follower of Lenin and in full sympathy with the struggles of the Russian farmers and workers against capitalism and against capitalist imperialism.

The tory government does not know how to combat this thing.

There was a raid on the Russian embassy at Peking which bore every earmark of being inspired by the British government. Chang Tso-lin would not have dared to do it without the support of some strong imperialist power.

Now comes the raid on the Arcos, the Russian commercial headquarters in London, along with the threat to sever all commercial and diplomatic relations with the Soviet government. It is a desperate move on the part of a desperate capitalist nation.

It is a move to discredit Soviet Russia and goad her into war, but indications are that the Soviet government will not fall for this trick.

The British capitalists may be united on their government's Russian policy, but it is certain that the working masses of England are not.

Tremendous opposition is growing among both the farmers and the workers of Great Britain and when they speak they will speak against the British Lords and Dukes and for the farmers and workers of the Soviet Union.

FIGHT FOR THIS PROGRAM!

1. A five-year moratorium on farm mortgage debts, including debts on chattels.
2. Relief from the evils of the mortgage and tenantry evil through the adoption of a land tenure system which will secure the land to the users.
3. Nationalization of the railroads and the farm marketing system.
4. The control and operation of the farm credit system by the organizations of the working farmers in place of through capitalist banking institutions.
5. Relief from the excessive burden of taxation through levying higher income taxes and inheritance taxes on the profits of the railroads and great industrial combines.
6. Government support for the development and extension of the farmers' cooperatives.
7. Against an alliance with Dawes and Lowden and the small banking and business interests and for an alliance with the city workers.
8. Build the Farmer-Labor Party!
9. For a Farmers' and Workers' Government.

Subscribe for The United Farmer.

a machine shop right in the village. So far the collectivists connected with the village have twelve tractors and a traveling repair car in the district out of Pettygorinsk as a step toward establishing a permanent base in the village.

It will be seen that the government's plan of industrialization works in together with tractorization; aid to poor peasants through cooperatives, collectives and credits; the fight on the kulak, and the increase of the production of agriculture.

Education

There are to be found in the Soviet village today schools for the liquidation of illiteracy for adults; schools for the political education of adults; schools for training of farm youths mostly in scientific methods of agriculture; schools on the government farms, for the teaching of the workers' children and schools in the children's homes in addition to the study circles and classes conducted by the Communist Party, the Comsomols, Pioneers and the Agricultural and Forest Workers' Union. In addition to these schools education is carried on by the above mentioned organizations by means of plays, meetings and entertainments. Libraries have been established and workers' clubs are being operated. The Commissariat of Education plans within three years to have enough schools to hold every child in the Soviet Union and thus to completely wipe out illiteracy.

The League to Combat Illiteracy for which membership is only a few kopeks a month has a hold in the village and is growing very fast. There are now about two million members of this league which was organized on the initiative of Lenin. One of the chief tasks is the dissemination of reading books and grammars free of charge. The trade unions are also taking a leading part in the fight to completely eliminate illiteracy. The Red Army, a large proportion of which is composed of farmers has not a single illiterate soldier whereas in 1918 a large percentage in the army were illiterate. Among some of the backward nationalities in the Union the Soviet government had to furnish a written alphabet before the fight against illiteracy could be begun.

Broad Masses Getting Educated

In the Archangel'skoe Rayon there are ten schools for the liquidation of illiteracy among adults from 16 to 35 years of age. Reading rooms and libraries are maintained in the Isopolom

them did not know their parents at all or had not heard from them for several years, and did not know whether they were dead or alive.

Eager To Learn

On one of the walls in a small room set aside as the club room there was a schedule of their day's activities. The day starts at seven-thirty in the morning when they have tea according to Russian custom before going to school, and ends at 8:30 when they go to bed. The schedule also provided for two Phiscultur (gymnastics) periods and six hours at the village primary school, three in the morning and three after the noonday meal. The meals were, tea in the morning, lunch at noon, dinner at four and supper at 7:30. There were three women in charge of this Detaki Doin (children's home), a cook, a Niunia (nurse) and a directress.

All over the walls of this little club-room there were posters and pictures drawn by the children. One little girl of eight had made a copy of a well-known photograph of Lenin as a child and was very happy when I noticed it saying she would like to draw when she grows up. The president of their Pioneer group (they are all Pioneers) an eleven year old girl proudly pointed to their Lenin Corner telling me that they had done all the poster and streamers themselves.

The whole group was very eager to visit the "RussianAmerican" farm at Maslov Kut, five miles distance from them. In fact they had gone so once but on a holiday when the machine shop and the tractors were not working. When I asked them what they were going to do when they grew up to be men and women the boys all grinned with delight and said they would be tractor drivers.

Cooperative Pioneer Work in the Rural Districts

In Liohoslavl (Tver Gubernia) ten cooperative amalgamated in 1923 into the first agricultural combine in order to carry out agricultural measures with respect to flax growing and to new forms of flax dressing. The new factory has a model farm of 40 desiatins which grows high quality flax seed for the benefit of the surrounding peasantry. Thanks to this combine, 30 villages have already been provided with electric light. This year 4,000 peasant farms are to be electrified and

Wants All Voters to Participate

By F. P. Atwood

Cross Lake, Minnesota—So much has been said about farmers organizing I thought I would send my plan, and if worth the space you might submit it and discuss it through the columns of your paper.

We accept any farmer as a member if he pays the fee. Then why not take them all into our confidence and accept them and use the organization we already have? We are organized into townships all over the nation. Then why not, in campaign years, on township election day, post notices to read:

Select Delegates

On April 1st (or any other date) we will hold a caucus meeting at this place for the purpose of selecting two delegates to attend the county convention, these to draft men for ever county office.

When that is done two men from every county convention to be elected as delegates to the district and state conventions for the same purpose and so on up to national conventions.

To start with at caucus meetings all the nominations for delegates should be made. Then vote by ballot for one only. By so voting, if there were two factions in a township, one would not over-ride the other; and declare the two getting the highest number of votes elected. Delegates to be given credentials and convention hall locked against all who are not delegates.

After all the conventions have been held, delegates to call meetings in their respective townships and inform the people as to who their candidates are and call for donations to pay filing fees of the candidates. I think five cents from each voter would be sufficient. This money to be sent to the county chairman for distribution and candidates ordered to go and file, then go home about their business as usual and keep out of dirty politics.

Wants Cooperative Commonwealth

I believe this plan of organization will function and also have a tendency to get the farmers together often to discuss their plans of procedure.

Please let me hear from you. If you have any suggestions to make or think it not worth while, I would like to know. For my part I long for the cooperative commonwealth, but maybe the surest and safest way is to capture a little at a time.

Why is it that in different countries are sending large battalions, men, etc., just to protect a handful of their subjects? Would not stand to reason that these few in China should get naturalized and in this way do as they are requested to do "when in Rome do as the Romans." This ought to hold true for China also.

The reason for sending large battalions, etc., to China by the different nations is to protect and further assist the foreign capitalists in their robbing of the Chinese people. The farmers and laborers should hold large meetings and demonstrations and adopt resolutions requiring that our government take immediate steps to withdraw armed forces from China, Mexico and Nicaragua. Also adopt resolutions and request that Sacco and Vanzetti be immediately set free.

CHINESE FARMERS KNOW THE VALUE OF ORGANIZATION

They Have a Real Program

(From Farmers' and Peasants' International Correspondent.)

The success of the Canton forces have roused the revolutionary sentiment of the Chinese peasantry and stimulated the growth of the peasant movement. Thus the membership of the peasant leagues in Hunan alone has grown from 50,000 before the Northern Expedition to 150,000 at the present time.

There are now peasant leagues in almost every Chinese province, including those under the rule of the militarists. The spontaneous peasant movement generally known as the "Red Lances" has also been lately falling in line with the organized peasant leagues and the self-defense detachment of the leagues.

Appropriating as it does the revolutionary role of the peasantry, the Canton government does all it can to improve their political and economic conditions. The meeting of the Central Committee of the Kuomintang which took place in October of last year passed a number of decisions on the peasant question. They are:

1. A 25 per cent reduction of rent.
2. A unified agricultural tax.
3. The preservation of the forests and an improvement of the irrigation system.
4. The establishment of agricult-

Composed to Cooperate

The composition of the conference from the extreme right to the left, from Jardine, secretary of agriculture, representative of the Coolidge-Mellon group to the Soviet group, representing the interests of the agrarian population in the first workers' republic, is significant. The wheat poolers are united on eliminating the speculators and increasing the producers' share of production.

The cooperative activity of the Soviet Union springs spontaneously from their system, while cooperators, national units within capitalist controlled states, are forced into the fold of cooperative marketing as a way out of the anarchy of the capitalist economic order.

A Specter Haunts Conference

The world conference with an object of stabilizing world wheat prices is on the one hand a means of further stabilizing the temporary stabilization of capitalism by one group, while on the other hand it is a means, through the export of wheat, by the growing Soviet system, as well as a reshifting of world forces toward cooperation as a natural growth of the Soviet order. In spite of its present weakness from a world standpoint its strength is in favor of the society of the future.

Yes, a specter haunted the conference. Coolidge's representative sat in the same conference with Russian agrarian experts; necessity drives the haughtiest from the high places while representatives of Soviet cooperatives stalk through.

International Committee Named

At the close of the conference an international committee was elected consisting of C. H. Burnell, chairman; G. W. Robertson, Canada, secretary; E. R. Downie of Kansas; Lew Hutchinson of Canada; John Manley of Oklahoma; A. J. Scott of N. D. The committee added to the number Saul G. Bron of Russia; C. Judd of Australia and W. A. McLeod of Canada.

They have established a World Wheat Bureau where marketing information, statistics and clearing house for such, will render service to the sections. The next object of most of the delegates is to establish a world pool.

Jardine's Offer a Sop

W. H. Settle of Indiana said, regarding Jardine's offer of 25 million from the government, "It is nothing but a sop, a compromise." The 25 million is a drop in the bucket to what is actually needed. Settle is an advo-

sever and I can think of no better than a Farmer-Labor party for the southern cotton slaves. I remember the old Greenback and Populist days how they rallied to the farmers' ideas and slogans. Its need is more widespread and urgent today.

Farmers of the North and South, unite with the wage workers! You have nothing to lose but your mortgages! You have lost everything else.

Think it over.

SUPREME COURT UPHOLDS C. S. LAW OF CALIFORNIA

Prejudiced Opinion

Washington, D. C.—The supreme court today handed down two decisions affirming the conviction of two labor fighters indicted under the vicious "criminal syndicalism" law of California under which scores of men and women active in the labor movement of that state have been sent to prison. The two cases were those of Charlotte Anita Whitney, charged with membership in the Communist Labor party, and of William Burns, charged with being an organizer for and distributing the literature of the Industrial Workers of the World.

Serious Matter

In the case of Harold Fiske, convicted under a similar law in Kansas, for possessing a copy of the I. W. W. Preamble and organizing for the I. W. W., the court held that the state had not shown sufficient evidence to prove that the I. W. W. advocated "unlawful acts or methods as a means of effecting industrial or political changes or evolution."

The seriousness of the decision of the supreme court means not only the probable imprisonment of the two Californians, but also the final legalization of the infamous California law, and what is just as likely, the maintenance of the many other state laws similar to it. It is significant that none of the so-called "liberal" members of the supreme court dissented from the opinions which were unanimously given by the court.

Chicago.—The International Labor Defense upon receipt of the information of the decisions of the Supreme Court on the California "criminal syndicalism" law, issued the following

work. conditions of the middle farmer are not much better than that of the agricultural laborer. The large American stock companies which own the sugar refineries, have gradually grabbed all the land in the vicinity of the refineries and converted it into latifundia. This land is parcelled out and rented to farmers.

The latter till the land almost exclusively in the interests of the sugar magnates to whom they are bound by contract. These contracts are contrary to the existing laws, but Cuba is in the hands of the United States. The government therefore does nothing to help the farmers; on the contrary it helps the exploiters to bleed the unfortunate farmers.

On the pretext that "there must be no interference with the production of sugar which is the foundation of national economy" the government crushed ruthlessly the slightest protest of the farmers. Actually, this is done in order to avoid conflicts with American capital for fear that it might lead to military intervention on the part of the United States.

The will of the big enterprises belonging to American capitalists, is the supreme law for the Cuban farmers and farm hands. The companies dictate to the plantations the wages they should pay. In this they are guided only by the one desire, viz., to reduce the cost of production of sugar. As a result, wages are determined not by the supply and demand of labor power, but by the prices of sugar.

The workers have no right to discuss this question. They accept the conditions offered to them. If they refuse, the government sends its police, who receive in addition to the salaries from the government remuneration from the manufacturers. The police gets its black-jacks into operation, beating the workers right and left. The workers are thrown out of their houses which also belong to the enterprises and they are obliged to go out in search of new employment and work under similar conditions, if not worse.

Take Wages In Goods

The companies and large landowners are not content with enforcing low wages. They try to cut down wages still further by other means of exploitation. Wages are not paid in cash, but in coupons and tickets which are accepted by the shops belonging to the refineries and plantations. Accounts are settled every fifteen days

who was born a prince and who became a leader of this revolutionary school.

BRITISH GENERAL STRIKE. By Scott Nearing. Just when victory for workers seemed imminent, the general strike was only ended. Why? This book will explain to you.

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BISMARCK, N. D.

On the other hand he has been afflicted with an economy obsession which has driven him to do the most ridiculous extremes. Due to his economy obsession the Governor has vetoed a large number of appropriations which were passed by the legislature to aid the state's educational institutions. He has by his vetoes crippled the schools of the state and particularly the state university. So conservative a man as President Lotus D. Coffman of the state university has seen fit to rebuke the Governor publicly for his attitude toward the state university.

Embezzler Howled

Another thing that stands to injure the Governor politically in the state is the evidence that has been forthcoming as to corruption in several departments. The state treasurer's office is charged with inefficiency amounting to corruption. Two years ago the chief deputy and another employee in the treasurer's office were convicted of embezzlement and sent to the penitentiary. Their conviction brought about an investigation as to how much money had been embezzled, with the result that the state treasurer's office was revealed as one not having a system of bookkeeping sufficiently up to date to enable the investigators to determine how much money had actually been stolen.

Notwithstanding this fact the Governor elevated the state treasurer under whose regime these embezzlements had taken place, to the office of Comptroller of Finance, a position created at the Governor's command to the legislature in 1925. The Comptroller of Finance occupies the position of financial expert for the state.

Diagnosed With Republicanism

Another state department, too, is now being investigated; the so-called "Blue Sky Commission." The head of this department during the first term of the Governor is charged with having corruptly handled his office. Some facts have been revealed in the press which would indicate that the charges are well founded.

As stated above the conditions requisite for Farmer-Labor victory in Minnesota in 1923 are present. The people are disgusted with the Republican party both in state and nation. The thing that devolves upon the Farmer-Laborites in Minnesota is to put their organization in such a shape as to crystallize the discontent with Republicanism into Farmer-Labor votes at the polls.

Great Britain has withdrawn her consul from Chinkiang and is also withdrawing her diplomatic representatives from cities in the control of the Nationalists.

The British government is desperate because it fears loss of prestige and power in China and moves more and more for open war against the Han-Kow Nationalists.

The United States destroyer Preble, hit by stray gun fire, bombarded forts and villages on the south bank of the Yangtze. It is believed much damage was done.

GREAT PICNIC IS PLANNED JUNE 24 AT CARRINGTON, N. D.

Under Auspices Cooperative Store

Special to The United Farmer Carrington, N. D.—Real efforts are being put forth here to organize a cooperative store for the farmers.

The work is in charge of David Fryer, a cooperator at heart, and who has had considerable experience in managing cooperative stores.

Emphasize Education

Along with the pure business end of the store, the educational features are not lost sight of. Hanging on the walls of the store, for instance, are several slogans like the following:

"Cooperation equalizes the social standing of all men."

"The road to friendship and mutual understanding is cooperation."

Big Picnic Planned

As a boost for the store a big picnic will be held at Hawksnest, 12 miles southwest of Carrington, on June 24. It is an all day affair.

The program includes speeches by prominent men who are interested in cooperation, music, singing, baseball games, interesting old time dances as well as the latest hits of the season. Participants will wear red and white felt caps on which will be found these words: "Buy cooperative merchandise from the Farmers' Supply Company."

Educational and control committees are now at work arranging for this picnic as well as perfecting plans of organization of the store.

When the difference is more than \$1,200 in favor of the heirs the action of the department seems to be both wise and unjust. Why should not persons whom the banking department owes be entitled to an offset? They would be in cases between individuals and corporations.

Enforce Collection of \$611.00

The State Banking department also collected \$611.00 from Louis Peterson and it owes him \$700.00 and it is going to collect \$100.00 from George Peterson and it owes him \$100.00. It all seems ludicrous to me.

SOFT FRUITS ARE A FAILURE; APPLE CROP IS NORMAL

Results Will Be Known After June Drop

Tonasket, Wash., May 12, '27. Editor The United Farmer.

Yours of the 6th inst. at hand, asking about the fruit situation. At this writing it is hard or impossible for anyone to tell what the crop will be, or they will not be able to tell, until after what is known as the June drop.

Soft fruits such as cherries, apricots and peaches will be almost a total loss, except in a few favored spots. Apples, of course, are the main crop, and any one person's guess at this time is as good as another's, as it is all a guess.

My guess at this time would be, that there will be a normal crop of apples. Some varieties will be a good crop as they can stand more frost than others.

Pears look as though they would be

(Continued on Page Three)

AN 8 PAGE PAPER!

To Our Subscribers:

You will note that this issue of The United Farmer consists of four pages, six columns. Beginning with the June number the paper will contain, every month, eight pages, six columns, of interesting reading matter.

All letters and articles for the June issue must reach Bismarck not later than the 13th of the month.

Burn Textbooks

Our readers might be interested to know that under the direction of the State Board of Education an agent came out to our schoolhouse, Corn Valley, and burned the free textbooks containing objectionable material relating to evolution, paragraphs objectionable to the fundamentalists. Such books met a like fate at the county seat. This was after the Anti-evolution bill failed at Austin.

Corn As Fuel

Commercial clubs, bankers and capitalist papers are insistent in urging the farmer to diversify. We practice diversification in Wheeler county. We raise our living at home, that is, the majority do. For two winters I burned big, blue, heavy corn because it was cheaper fuel than coal. The farmers generally did the same over the county.

My neighbor, John Starkey, with a four-horse team, the cotton frames on the wagon, hauled a big piling load of corn to Shamrock, the nearest railroad station. The money secured for the corn was not enough to buy the same weight back in coal and the hauling was a waste of time and effort.

Situation Growing Worse

Last year corn sold at Shamrock for 42¢ per bushel and maize \$6 per ton. My nearest railway station is 22 miles. Hauling to the market is \$4 per ton for maize and 15¢ per bushel for corn. I made 300 bushels corn and 2½ tons of maize; much of my cotton was left in the field as the price was not worth the picking.

Cost of cultivating, the wear and tear on machinery, seed, feed and taxes and one may appreciate the inducement for a farmer to try. The situation is growing worse.

Landlord in Way of Progress

The customary rent for feed crop is 1/3 and since rent farms are not improved sufficiently for storage, the tenant is usually forced to dump his feed on the market when the price is at the lowest point.

The need is specialization, not diversification. Allow the farmer to produce such crops as are adapted to his soil and climate. But the landlord stands in the way. The landlord dictates what shall be planted, the banker and merchant may withhold credit, so the farmer plants what he is told to plant or he does not go on the land.

The irony of this diversification advice! The thinking farmers resent it.

members of the board of directors of the South Dakota Cooperative Elevator company and for a number of years a member of the Clark Cooperative Elevator company.

GREAT FORTUNES BUILT IN MONTH BY BANKING BILL

Bankers, reaping a rich harvest of millions in the financial jugglery attending mergers and consolidations, celebrated the McFadden banking law yesterday with announcements of two mergers and one extension.

The Central Mercantile and the Chelsea Exchange are to be consolidated in a \$75,000,000 bank. The Interstate Trust, of which former Governor Silzer of New Jersey is the sponsor, gobbles up the Franklin National. The Manufacturers Trust has taken over the First National Bank of Hempstead, L. I.

Bank stocks soared gaily on the merger wave with first National stock selling at \$3,000 a share. Stocks of several banks have swelled in value from 50 to 100 per cent in the last 30 days.

The provisions of the new McFadden act, permitting mergers, increased earnings and enlarged operations are held responsible. The McFadden act was pushed through the last congress by Vice President Dawes and other agents of the banking ring as a companion measure to the famous McNary-Haugen farm "relief" bill.

Farmers Lose on Deal

The congressmen from the farm districts saved their constituents with the excuse that they could not have passed the farm relief bill without approving a trade with the bank bill supporters. President Coolidge vetoed the famous McNary-Haugen farm bill and signed the bank act.

As a result holders of bank stocks, including the very core of America's imperialists have seen their fortunes inflated from 10 to 100 per cent in the short space of three months.

Go Strong on This!

Get subscriptions for The United Farmer and write in the paper.

centralized cooperation, efficiently.

Canadian Heads Conference

The world conference opened at the Hotel Baltimore with C. H. Burnell, president of the Manitoba Wheat pool elected chairman. The object of the conference and its activity is cooperative marketing to eliminate speculation and to stabilize prices of wheat. Great strides in cooperative marketing of wheat, etc. have already been made in Australia and Canada, not to mention Russia with its vast cooperative movements.

Jardine Offers Federal Aid

Dr. W. M. Jardine, secretary of agriculture, arrived in time for the banquet and informed the delegates that present administration is ready to assist the cooperative enterprises. However, details are left to the pools. It can be plainly seen that the administration is making overtures to the farmers in an effort to win back some of the confidence it lost at the last session of congress.

Depression Brings Pools

The Canadian Wheat Pool has 138,000 members handling 212 million bushels of wheat, or 56 per cent. That strong operators can influence prices was pointed out by this week's quotations, Minneapolis, \$1.37; Winnipeg, \$1.50.

Cooperation in agriculture, according to Mr. Burnell, is the world's next biggest social development.

Sapiro Lauded

Aron Sapiro, of the Sapiro-Ford suit, was lauded as the man who made possible the success of the Canadian Wheat Pool. The great majority of the delegates are staunch supporters of the present system in spite of the speeches of condemnation by a number of speakers of the present system.

Economic depression and overproduction (underconsumption) of wheat in post-war time has brought to the attention of these farmers the system under which they live. However, a broad outlook, taking in all the farmers as well as the workers, is yet to develop among the majority or a militant section of the pools.

Soviet Experts Present

Six and a half million farmers are represented by the Soviet agrarian experts. The Grain Export Corporation of Soviet Russia has control of all grain export. Last year a 15 per cent increase in price of export wheat was obtained for the Russian farmers by the efficient methods of the cooperators.

(Continued on Page Three)

ten roads and seconded, the temporary secretary was directed to name a local committee, this committee to carry out the suggestion that had been made in the meeting with such additions as they might decide, and to communicate their decisions to groups that might be organized over the district. This motion was carried unanimously.

The delegates from the Detroit Lakes district agreed to go ahead and organize a nucleus or group in that district and O. J. Arness was expected to get in touch with the Hawley group to get them to organize also so that a meeting could be held there as one in the series proposed.

Others who were unable to be at the meeting owing to the unfavorable weather will be gotten in touch with to get them to form groups in their localities for purposes of education and activity among the farmers to get a better understanding of their economic problems.

H. H. L.
Temporary Secretary.

BELDEN FARMERS CELEBRATE THE WORKERS HOLIDAY

Interesting Program Rendered

By Lillian Husa

Belden, N. D. — On May first a crowd of about 115 people, counting the members of the Young Pioneer League from seven years up, gathered at the Belden hall to demonstrate in the interest of the real international labor day.

The weather was cold, windy and cloudy and so kept a considerable number of people away who otherwise would have been there. However, we can feel confident that we have been among those great masses of workers and farmers throughout the world who have gathered on this day.

Husa Gives Talk

A program appropriate for the occasion had been prepared. Some numbers were: "Young Guards," by Young Pioneer League; "Remarks on May Day" by W. J. Husa, explaining the origin of May Day as a native American holiday, connected with the struggle for an eight hour day in 1886, later declared as International May Day, a day on which workers of all countries demonstrate their brotherly solidarity in the struggle against

that live a life worth living?

Up to Tollers Themselves

There is, of course, only one reason for that: They live on our property. Now, is that fair? Is it right that some folks, for example us farmers, that we, who get up before sunrise and toil till way after dark, may be in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred haven't even got a fair living? Is not that a great wrong and is there any remedy for it? Who is to blame for such conditions?

To me it appears that the whole blame is on the tolling masses themselves who permit it to go on. It should by now, if not before, be clear to every farmer and wage slave that something has got to be done to better the conditions. And I think we are quite intelligent to do it, too, if we will only make up our will and muster our strength and stick together for our common good.

So far as I can see it is through politics the idle class robs the masses and why not through the same thing take the power away from the money class and put the ruling and destinies of the people in the hands of the people? It is time for the masses to get rid of the parasites and give them the old standard ultimatum: Those who will not work shall not eat. But before we go any further, how can this be done?

We have had all kinds of experience with the different political parties the last twenty years and more, but how far have we got? The fact is that even in this age of modern machinery and industrial advances the tollers are worse off than in centuries past.

Demand Your Rights

Almost any political organization has, it seems to me, started from the top and worked down, which is just opposite from what it should. Organize yourselves first and try to post yourselves as to the means we got to use to better our conditions, and use these means, not only for your own benefit, but also to advance the good of your class. Let the rulers of today know what you demand and don't be bashful about telling it to them. Remember as a fellow-worker you have a place in the sun, as they say.

Farmers in this community all agree that only through a solid front, under their own party, will they get anywhere and at a meeting held out here not long ago these present agreed to and are in favor of local organization and they are calling on brother farmers and wage slaves throughout the state and the Union to unite under

to get out the vote the least interest in city management with a plea that he was poor and needed the money and other arguments that have nothing to do with city management.

Bankers, Politicians Rule

Our state has an unenviable reputation in the condition of its financial and political management—a condition closely resembling the condition of the banks. It will be noted the latter are very influential in state and city management, causing the remark to be made that no one may be elected mayor without the endorsement of a certain bank.

It is to be noted also that nearly all politicians reside in the cities and the latter can be depended upon to roll up a comfortable vote in favor of the state administration and against the rural communities.

Farm Bill Is Shell Game

The farmers are an easy prey to operators of political shell games such as the McNary-Haugen bill which was vetoed by Coolidge. Norbeck and McMaster and Williamson saw that it was popular for them from a political standpoint to support this bill. Now

that Lowden is that kind of a farmer, only on a larger scale than the M. C. So is Chas. Dawes and even Bill Taft posed as a farmer when he was running for the presidency of the U. S. These men and legions besides them have money invested in land. The mere fact," says the M. C., "that I do not happen to be actually and personally engaged in farming," would seem no justification of depriving him of the title to that land, and what is true of him is true of all the fat boys who hold land.

They Exploit Real Farmer

Now I cannot see why Mr. Williamson, Lowden, Dawes, Taft, or any mother's son when not engaged personally in actual farming should hold land for the exploitation of the man who is actually and personally engaged in farming the soil.

The fat boys certainly obtain an undue advantage over the actual user of the land. The man who is personally, actually engaged in farming the soil is not a M. C., is not a son-in-law of Pullman, a vice president of the U. S. or a chief justice of the supreme court.

Furthermore, if the M. C. or the

COOPERATORS' PICNIC — at — Hawk's Nest, June 24

12 Miles Southwest of Carrington, N. D.

Under Auspices Farmers Supply (Cooperative) Company of Carrington, N. D.

Good program, consisting of well-known speakers, music, singing, baseball games, old time and modern dances.

An All Day Affair

Come Early and Stay Late

Gov. Sorlie Buys Wheat From Old Line Companies

I. V. A. Not Afraid of Him

Editor Nonpartisan,
Bismarck, N. D.

I read with much pleasure the article in your issue of April the 28th signed "One of the new members of the Twentieth Legislative Assembly." (Why not sign your name?)

You certainly are touching on many points that takes us back to the inception of the Nonpartisan League, which I believe should once in a while be brought back to us in order to draw a contrast as to whether we are drifting, and I hope, Mr. Editor, that you will see fit to publish this article as I will also have it appear in other well-known papers.

Voted for Pay Increase

Mr. New Member, you seem to bewail the fact that the North Dakota Nonpartisan is going on the rocks and that a few faithfuls are digging up to keep it going, etc. I suppose the faithful are those so-called present-day leaguers who voted themselves \$19,400 increased pay and they sure would have gotten it if the I. V. A. had not stopped them with their votes. I have the records in my possession to show who is who. All Leaguers in the lower house voted for the increased pay except one, and she was politician enough to see the come-back on those faithful ones you mention. And this they did in spite of the vote being against increased pay at the last state-wide election. (Those faithfuls sure had some guts.) It sure looks like a pie counter brigade and you and the North Dakota Nonpartisan backing them up. Is it any wonder your paper is going bum?

Mr. New Member, you state that some of our members do not measure up, etc., and that we should send only such that are true and whose interests are with the League. That would, no doubt, eliminate bankers, lawyers, coal and gas dealers, and pie counter boys. Then what would you do with members who are supposed to be right because of the long experience they have had in this fight like one we have in the Senate who has been a member of the board of directors of the Equity Cooperative Exchange until it went into receivership, voted to increase his

Professor From Russia to Study U. S. Agriculture

Will Inform Us About Soviet Union Conditions

(Special to The United Farmer)

New York, N. Y. — The Russian Bureau of Agricultural Information, which aims to serve as a clearing house for information on agricultural conditions and developments in the United States and the Soviet Union, has opened offices at 136 Liberty street, New York. The bureau is in charge of Professor I. A. Mirtoff, formerly Dean of the Moscow Land Surveying Institute and Director of the Institute for Farm Improvements and Colonization.

Visit Experiment Stations

"One of the chief tasks of the Bureau will be to maintain contacts with the scientific agricultural bodies in the United States," said Professor Mirtoff, "and in particular with your experiment stations, established by both the federal and state governments, which are doing such notable work. I expect to make a tour of some of the agricultural experiment stations during the next few days.

"Reciprocally the bureau will keep American agricultural interests informed on Russian agriculture and the new experiments on seeds, etc., being conducted in the Soviet Union.

30,000 Tractors in Russia

"An area of 225,000,000 acres was planted to grain in the Soviet Union last year, exceeding the pre-war acreage by nearly 10,000,000 acres. There are now nearly 30,000 tractors, most of them American manufacture, employed on our farms, as compared with about 1,500 three years ago. Crop rotation is being introduced and better grain standards enforced. Outlying districts are being colonized according to a systematic plan.

"In short, agriculture in the Soviet Union is passing through a transition period towards a greater intensification and higher standards. There are many difficulties, due to primitive methods and ideas, which the Soviet government and our scientific bodies are striving to surmount."

Become a correspondent for The United Farmer.

This is your paper. Write in it.

LABOR DEFENDER

JUNE

1927

10 CENTS

SACCO *and* VANZETTI



THE DEMAND OF THE WORLD'S MILLIONS

The following is a list compiled by the International Labor Defense of the larger labor organizations, trade unions, political parties, professional men (scientists, teachers, lawyers, ministers, writers, journalists, etc.), newspapers (conservative, radical, labor, liberal), petition protests, schools, churches, strike actions, street demonstrations, etc.; farmer organizations, mass meetings, that have taken action against the proposed murder by electrocution in the week of July 10th of the two workers, Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti. This represents the protest and indignation of tens of millions of workers, farmers, and other men and women throughout the world. This list is by no means complete since reports to date indicate that over 110,000 appeals in the form of letters, resolutions, etc., over 200 cables, representing more than 80,000,000 workers all over the world, have demanded life and freedom for Sacco and Vanzetti.

This graphically indicates the mass protest on behalf of Sacco and Vanzetti.

There are of course thousands of organizations that we will not be able to classify, and we are listing herewith the more important ones thus far reporting. I. L. D. asks additional reports of protest and appeals to be sent in for record.

Central Labor Bodies, District Councils, Other Labor Bodies in America.

American Federation of Labor, representing 9,000 workers, has gone on record at three successive conventions on behalf of Sacco and Vanzetti.

Chicago Federation of Labor, representing 10,000 workers.

Boston Central Labor Council.

Amalgamated Food Workers.

Minneapolis Central Labor Council.

Mass City Central Labor Council.

Over 110,000 Appeals, 200 Cables, and over 60,- 000,000 People to Date Protest on Behalf of Sacco and Vanzetti

Seattle Central Labor Council, 20,000 members.

Cincinnati Central Trades and Labor Council, Silver Bow Trades & Labor Council, Butte, Montana.

Amalgamated Clothing Workers, representing 100,000 workers.

International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

I. W. W. Furriers' Union International.

Italian Chamber of Labor, New York, representing 75,000 Italian workers.

San Francisco Central Labor Council.

Everett, Wash., Central Labor Council.

Tampa, Florida, Central Labor Council.

St. Louis Central Labor Council.

Lake County, Indiana, Central Labor Council.

District Textile Council, together with six locals United Textile Workers in Passaic vicinity.

Cap and Millinery Workers' Union of New York.

Alameda, Calif., Central Labor Council.

Building Trades of State of California at State Convention, March, 1927.

Milwaukee Federated Trade Council.

Carlinville, Ill., Trades & Labor Assembly.

Detroit Federation of Labor.

Perth Amboy, N. J., Central Labor Council.

Great Falls, Mont., Central Labor Council.

Sub-district No. 4, Illinois Mine Workers.

Sons of Italy (approximately 200,000).

Progress Builders of America and the Western Progressive Farmers, organizations representing 300,000 workers and farmers.

Political Parties and Organizations in America.

Workers (Communist) Party of America.

Socialist Party of America.

Farmer-Labor Association, Hennepin County, Minneapolis, Minn.

Swedish-Social Democratic Labor Party.

Young Workers (Communist) League of America.

Young People's Socialist League, New York.

Socialist Labor Party of America.

Protests from International Labor and Political Organizations, Etc.

Communist International.

Labor and Socialist International, representing 7,000,000 workers, signed by Louis DeBrouckere, President, Committee for Political Prisoners of Labor and Socialist International.

Panama General Syndicate of Labor.

Argentine Confederation of Labor.

Rote Hilfe, Germany, representing 500,000 workers.

5,000 Unemployed workers of Sweden.

Central Labor Body of Union of Socialist Soviet Republic, representing 9,000,000 organized workers.

Gloucester, England, Trade Unions.

Employees Canadian National Railways, O. B. U., Ft. Rouge, Canada.

20 members Black League, Japan, protest to American Embassy at Tokyo.

Independent Labor Party of England.

South African Trade Union Congress.

Belgian Federation of Labor, 600,000 members.

Federation of Labor, Holland.

Big Unions in Cuba.

Young Communist International.

Communist Party and Young Communist League of Great Britain.

Non-Partisan and Miscellaneous Organizations.

Sacco-Vanzetti Emergency Conference, New York, representing 500,000 organized workers.

International Labor Defense, America, 100,000 affiliated and individual members.

Republican Party of Italy, New York.

Civic Club, New York (civic and social workers).

Italian Republicans of Anthracite Region of Pennsylvania.

Sacco-Vanzetti Conference, Rochester, N. Y.

Sacco-Vanzetti Conference, Chicago, Ill.

Italian Federation of Clubs, Salem, Mass.

Mary Lodes, Sons of Italy.

Detroit Sacco-Vanzetti Provisional Emergency Committee.

Los Angeles Sacco-Vanzetti Conference.

Buffalo, N. Y., Sacco-Vanzetti Committee.

Prominent Individuals: Publicists, Scientists, Teachers, Lawyers, Clergymen, Authors, Politicians, Labor Leaders, Etc.

Members of the British Parliament: Wheatley, Wilks, Lansbury, Buchanan, Hugh Dalton, Griffiths, Maxton, Wallhead, Campbell, Thorne, Stephen, Greenfell, Hayes, Stanbury, Gibson, Hirst, Smith, Hall, Broad, Bromley, Reckett, Saklatvala, Purcell, Kenworthy, Compston, Adamson, Williams, Salter, Welch, Barr, Montague, Barker, Lindley, Lodge (these are trade union, Labor Party, Liberal Party, Conservative Party, and other widely known leaders in England).

Professor Albert Einstein.

Upton Sinclair.

President Harry Fishwick, Illinois Mine Workers.

Kate Crane (Mrs.).

Theodore Dela.

Victor Berger.

Bishop Charles H. Brent of Western New York.

A. B. F. Chaplain, William Nye Doty, "A Mayflower Descendant".

President John Van Varenwyck, of Massachusetts State Federation of Labor.

Group of 27 Unitarian Ministers of Boston.

Group of 25 teachers, Mt. Holyoke College, Boston.

48 Teachers, Wisconsin State Normal College, 331 Students, Mt. Holyoke College.

Sidney Hillman and Joseph Schlossberg, President and Secretary of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers' Union of America.

Congressman Emanuel Celler of New York.

26 French Writers, including Romain Rolland, Maurice Donnay, French Academy, Maurice Rostand, Victor Arguerite, Henri Barbusse, Leon Fra.

Callaux, J. H. Rosny, Mayor of French Federation of I.

Professors Charles Wesley College.



Save the Victims of Horthy!

By Martin Abern

PROTEST of world labor and liberal opinion has temporarily stayed the hand of death against Zoltan Szanto and thirty other Hungarian workers. The Hungarian Horthy Dictatorship has transferred the cases of these Hungarian workers from the Special Military Court, which either acquits or condemns accused men to death, to the civil courts. The "crime" with which Szanto and the others are charged, is the attempt to organize a Communist Party, of having established Party schools, prepared a demonstration for the anniversary of the proclamation of the Hungarian Soviet Republic, and of having planned to establish a printing shop to issue leaflets.

The incriminated are partly members of the Communist Party and partly of the Hungarian Socialist Labor Party, the Vagi party, which can be compared to the former Independent Social-Democratic party, but by no means a Communist Party.

Zoltan Szanto, the brother of Bela Szanto, one of the People's Commissioners for War under the Soviet Government of Hungary, was arrested several months ago on charges of "conspiracy to overthrow the Horthy regime" grow out of his active propaganda among masses. Stephan Vagi and his supporters independently carried on agitation on behalf of the exploited Hungarian masses. The bloody terror of the Bethlen-Horthy rule drives the Social-Democratic workers to the Left. The hostility and contempt of the Bethlen government toward the workers and their attempts to better their conditions of life is at the root of the opposition and persecution of revolutionary and radical workingmen as Szanto, Vagi, Rakosi.

The political aims of the Horthy regime can be summarized as follows:

1. Restoration of the Hapsburg monarchy.
2. Smashing of the workers' movement.
3. Preparation for war.

Agitation for the return of "The King" continues openly. Elections are carried on with unheard of terror and in this fashion an Upperhouse (Magnatenhaus) was created which is overwhelmingly monarchistic. Politically, Horthyism and monarchy occupy the same ground.

The Bethlen government aims also to destroy every form of workers' organization and for unconditional sub-

"freedom of work", the trade unions, the right to strike, (which is to be abolished), etc. Trade Unions are not to participate in politics. Scabs will be kept in strike areas. Trade Unions are to be so emasculated that they become mere organs of the government. Such are the aims and the initial steps have been taken toward their summation—aims and purposes which parallel the Mussolini rule in Italy.

Reactionary Hungary's foreign policy has been that of intimate adhesion to the English-Italian imperialistic block. Economically, only lately, the construction of the Electricity Central Works has been given over to the Tal-



Zoltan Szanto.

bot group under colonial conditions of labor. Hungary is being permitted gradually to increase its armed forces, already in excess of the Peace Treaty, England allowing this. There is hope for the restoration of the confiscated goods and estates of the Transylvanian landlords by the Roumanians, in which Bethlen is directly interested. The Bethlen-Horthy policy hopes also toward a new agreement and revision of the Trianon peace with Italy. The English-Italian-Hungarian concord would help toward that end. In all this are to be found the dangers of war in the Bethlen policy.

Because the Hungarian Communists, the Socialist Labor Party members propose resistance to this reactionary program and call upon the workers to organize, the wrath of the White Terror is to be brought down upon them. Arrests, persecutions, brutalities and imprisonments against Szanto, Vagi, Rakosi and the other militant Hungarian workers abound. The attempt to railroad these workers to death through a special military court has thus far

but upon which international labor must must bring pressure for the freedom of the persecuted revolutionaries.

In the United States, protest has also been effective. On April 14, International Labor Defense sent the following message to the Hungarian Ambassador at Washington, D. C.:

Hungarian Ambassador,
Hungarian Embassy,
Washington, D. C.
Dear Sir:

For your information we wish to advise you that the following cablegram was sent to Premier Bethlen, Budapest, and was signed by the following prominent Americans:

Chicago, Ill., April 14, 1927.

Count Bethlen, Premier Budapest.

Cablegram. Deferred rates.

Press reports Szanto and thirty other Hungarian workers now before criminal court for disagreeing your government stop. We ask you intervene for full impartial trial and leniency.

Clarence Darrow, Upton Sinclair, Professor Robt. Morsa Lovett, Carl Haessler, Bishop Wm. Montgomery Brown, William Mahoney, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Edw. C. Wentworth, Robert Dunn, Alice Stone Blackwell, Scott Nearing, David Starr Jordan, Victor L. Berger, member of congress; Theodore Debs, Henry Wadsworth L. Dana, David Rhys Williams, Ralph Chaplin, Colonel Chas. Erskine Wood, Carlo Tresca, Sarah Bard Fields, Dun-

The Labor Defender

June, 1927

Vol. II. No. 6

Published Monthly by the International Labor Defense

23 South Lincoln Street, Chicago, Ill.

MAX SHACHTMAN, Editor.

GEORGE MAURER, Bus. Mgr.

Subscription—\$1.00 a Year.

Entered as second class matter December 18, 1925, at the postoffice at Chicago, Illinois, under the act of March 3, 1879.

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Henri Barbusse

An Appeal for Sacco and Vanzetti

An article written especially for "The Labor Defender" by the internationally famous author following a cabled request by the editor.

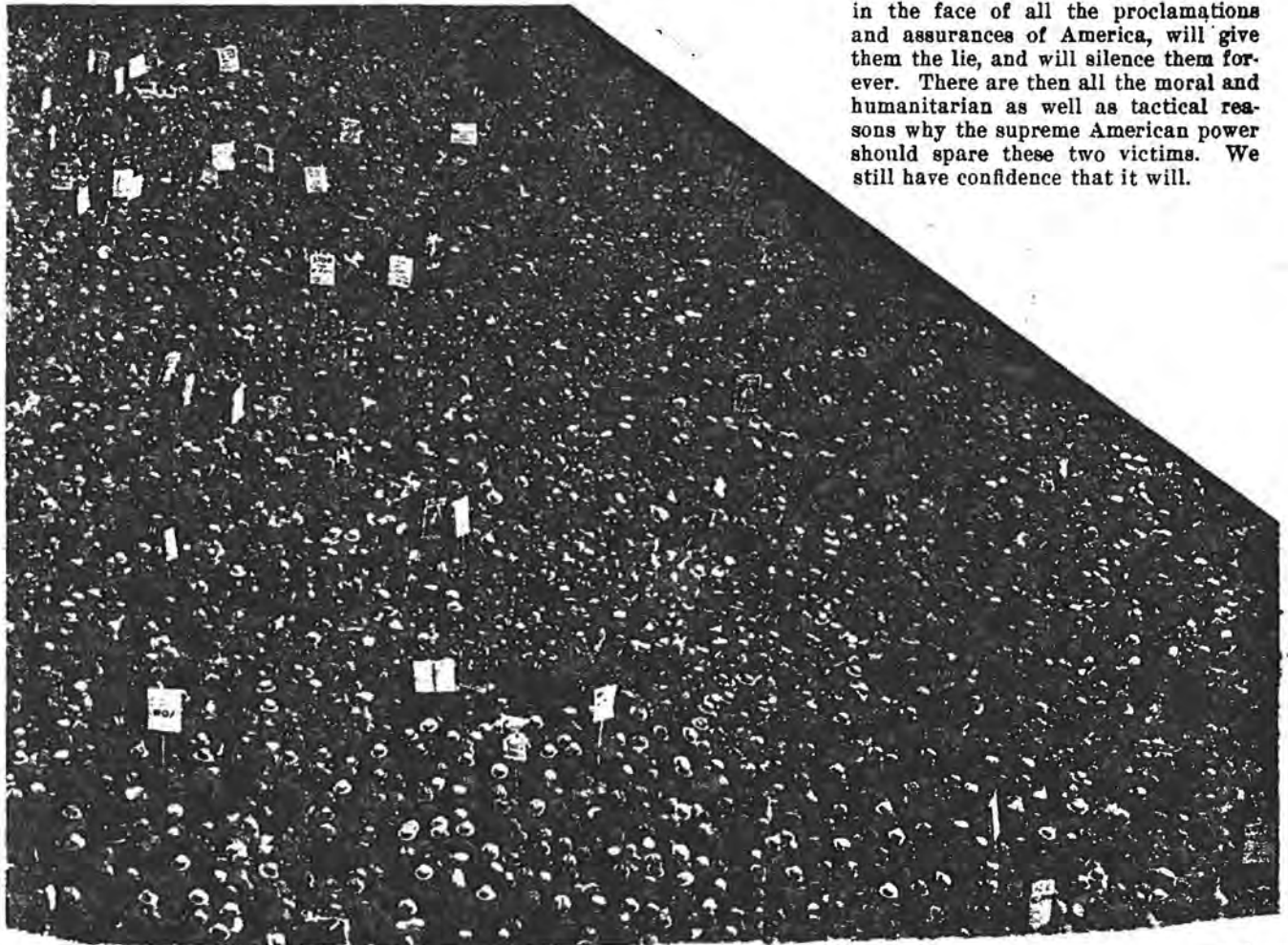
A GREAT cry of anguish arises from the entire world for Sacco and Vanzetti who had for so long been subjected to the frightful torture of those condemned to death, of those whose life hangs but by a single thread. I speak not in my own name, but (I can say boldly) in the name of the heart and conscience of all those throughout the world who follow the incidents of the great social tragedies. In the eyes of this universal conscience, the conviction of these two men is unjustified. It rests on too insufficient evidence not to constitute an outrage and a crime. It appears strikingly certain that it is dictated by a sense of political reprisal, an offensive by a constituted power and state force against the apostles and defenders of the cause of the workers. The execution of Sacco and Vanzetti can be considered hereafter only

as a tremendous challenge to the entire public opinion. It will engender everlasting hatred on the part of the working masses and be condemned by all loyal, wise and enlightened spirits whom it will transform into enemies of a system of domination which employs such methods. This historic case is given its particular gravity by the clearness with which it reveals the idea of repression and of war on the all powerful judges, which have nothing to do with justice. At various times the Americans are aroused by acts of dictatorship and imperialism of which the great nations of Europe are guilty. By going to extremes in the present case, which is so evidently a case of class vengeance, the United States will aggravate to incalculable proportions the social and political hatreds and antagonisms.



Barbusse on the platform.

It will play the role of a provocateur which can easily be contrasted with the theories of liberalism and peace which its statesmen and leaders make use of. This bloody deed, waved in the face of all the proclamations and assurances of America, will give them the lie, and will silence them forever. There are then all the moral and humanitarian as well as tactical reasons why the supreme American power should spare these two victims. We still have confidence that it will.



can, McDonald, Forest Bailey, Eben Hayes.

Among other cables sent were those from organizations in New York, Chicago, Perth Amboy, N. J.; Detroit, Mich., and others.

American Labor, together with work-

ers everywhere, must continue to protest on behalf of the persecuted Hungarian worker and to expose the farcical trials accorded radical workers.

The Rakosi-Vagi trial of 1926 was a sample of the methods of terror of the

Horthy domination and the trial of Szanto and his 30 "accomplices" is but a continuation of the attempts of reactionary Hungary to destroy the labor movement. This must be resisted on an international scale.

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Jack Rubenstein and 'Whitey' Adamchesky

By Hollace Ransdell

THERE were two young men who used to meet many times during the months of the Passaic Textile Strike, on opposite sides of the battle-line. The coal-black head of one was seen continually at the head of picket lines in front of the gates of the various mills. The yellow-white hair of the other was known as a danger signal to thousands of strikers.

"Whitey" Adamchesky probably had the distinction of having arrested more strikers during the struggle than any other cop. And Jack Rubenstein was certainly arrested oftener. Next to Albert Weisbord and possibly Sheriff Nimmo, these two, the tall, slim Rubenstein and the short, stocky Stephen Adamchesky tearing around madly on his motorcycle arresting strikers, were perhaps the best known characters of the strike.

And so it was that two bits of news which by a strange coincidence came almost at the same time created more excited comment among the former strikers than any other news since the strike was settled. Jack Rubenstein and "Whitey" Adamchesky who had met so often on the battle line were destined to meet again long after the

jail, presided over by the famous little Sheriff Nimmo, held these two renowned strike figures. The strike may be over but the drama still goes on. Adamchesky is reported by the police to have made a confession of his crime. Another ironic touch appreciated by



Jack Rubenstein.

those who are familiar with the third degree confessions which Adamchesky used to help torture out of strikers. This confession was obtained in the same police court about which the

The exit of one of the three, however, was quick. Adamchesky was released on bail within a day or two. But Rubenstein is still in, and Sheriff Nimmo still struts supreme.

What is this charge for which Jack Rubenstein received six months in the county jail and was fined \$500? The case started more than a year ago, on March, 1926, when Jack Rubenstein led a picket line of 800 strikers to the National Silk Dyeing plant in East Paterson, and was sentenced later to 90 days on the personal charge of Sheriff Nimmo. March 19 he was released on bail pending the appeal of this case, but was rearrested immediately afterward on a charge of assault and battery made by one of the jail keepers, Hubert LeFevre. The keeper claimed that Rubenstein assaulted him when he tried to stop an argument between Rubenstein and another prisoner. After this alleged assault, Rubenstein was kept in solitary confinement until called to court.

What really happened, as Rubenstein, himself, tells it was this: During certain hours of the day the doors of the cells are left open. Rubenstein was taking a nap on the cot in his cell with the door open, when he was awakened by an awful rumpus in the cell next to his, occupied by two prisoners not strikers. Rubenstein got up and walked to the door of this cell where two men were quarrelling. Just then the keeper ran up the stairs and with no explanation began cursing and striking Rubenstein who raised his arms to protect his face and head from the blows. In some such way as this, arise most of the charges against strikers of "assaulting the police."

On March 22, 1926, Rubenstein was released again on \$3,500 bail pending the trial. In May he had a trial by jury. It was at the height of the strike when prejudice against strikers was intense. The jury apparently felt that to be good citizens they should bring in a verdict of guilty. However, the evidence of the prosecution was flimsy and Rubenstein's account sounded convincing so they tried to compromise.

Joseph Feder, the attorney, who handled the case for the defense tells how the jury returned and asked the judge if there could be a



A clash in Passaic. "Whitey" is the cop in the center with back turned.

strike was over—in jail. And on the same side of the bars this time.

On April 28, 1927, Rubenstein was sentenced to six months in the county jail and fined \$500, on a strike charge which originated more than a year ago. A day or two later "Whitey" was arrested, charged with robbing a garage.

strikers tell such gloomy stories.

With the jail as the setting then, these three interesting characters enter the scene—the dark, gentle young Jewish idealist, the white-lashed, brutal, twisted-minded police officer and the scrawny, noisy despotic little Sheriff whose hatred of strikers has become

A Good Strike is a Crime

The Imprisonment of the I. F. U. and I. L. G. W. U. Members in N. Y.

By Michael

ALMOST three score workers, members of the International Furworkers' Union and the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union in New York, are now lying in jail, some of them awaiting trial, and some already sentenced to prison terms ranging from six months to three years. The fake charges that are brought against them in court mean nothing, compared to their real "crime", which is never mentioned in the legal indictment. It is the "crime" of having conducted a good strike, of having infused the members of their organization with a new spirit of unbreakable solidarity, courage, and sacrifice in the struggle to improve the conditions of the workers and prevent the economic degradation which is constantly planned for them by the bosses and their allies.

Both of the unions, led by their respective Joint Boards have gone thru months of a hard-fought strike. Aligned against them were the courts, the newspapers, the police, the black elements in the labor movement itself, and a vicious gang of underworld gentry—thugs, gunmen and gangsters who were never molested by the police.

The strikes were splendid examples of fighting spirit. The picket lines never flagged in their enthusiasm or decreased in numbers. Not a single one of the struck shops could avoid the vigilance of the strikers. The solidarity of the strikers was a constant source of inspiration to other sections of the labor movement, and one of their chief slogans: The Forty-Hour Week! spread swiftly to other unions.

The bosses, infuriated, desperate, biting their nails with anger, began to organize their black forces. Everywhere gangsters appeared on the scene, attempting to break up the picket lines, to intimidate the strikers, to provoke them to the point where the police might have some semblance of an excuse to call the Black Maria to haul the strikers off to the jail. The strikers held firm. Courageously determined, they mobilized their forces more broadly and firmly and offered resistance to the thugs and gunmen. Not a few of these underworld cutthroats, the strikers' record was incalculable.

keep them from slugging and knifing the striking workers.

The reactionary elements of the labor movement were mobilized. Labor officials, to their eternal shame, were

ed trials in American labor annals. In the case of the ladies' garment workers, many of the defendants—responsible, well-known and honored workers—were arbitrarily sent to the penitentiary on all kinds of fake charges, for the courts that serve their masters so well did not have the courage to charge



Jack Schneider



Samuel Mencher



Isidore Shapiro

Three of the fur worker defendants.

enlisted. A campaign of provocation, betrayal, open desertion to the enemy, informing—hardly paralleled in the history of the American labor movement—was launched against the strikers. The unusual scene, for the United States, of leading labor officials appearing in a capitalist court to testify and lead in the prosecution against members of labor unions affiliated to the American Federation of Labor, was enacted a number of times. Only the bitter anger of the workers equalled the high glee of the bosses. In the case of the furworkers alone, in which Ben Gold, their leader, was the chief defendant, nine were convicted after one of the most arrantly class-prejudic-

them with and convict them of the crime of having fought a good fight, of having conducted a strike which could not be broken by "ordinary, legal" methods, which could not be corrupted by bribery, which could not be intimidated by official and gangster violence.

The "crime" of the imprisoned, and those awaiting trial is that of having fought well. The issue involved is the right to strike, the right to picket, the right of workers to fight for better conditions and against conditions of work and life which mean the return of the sweatshop and its horrors.

The cases involve not only the unions which they affect directly, but the entire labor movement. Workers everywhere must be aware of this. These workers have always been in the foreground of the entire American labor movement. No struggle of the workers has been ignored by them; on the contrary they have unstintingly given support to all of them. Their record of service to the American workers is one of which they can justly be proud. In many respects they have led the movement for the progress of the entire working class of this country.

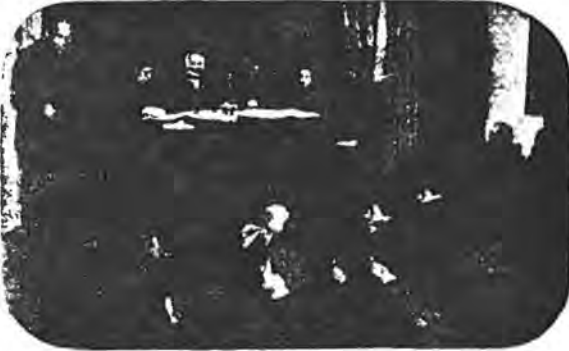
All workers must rally to their defense. All workers must condemn the miserable role of informers and provocateurs played by the reactionary officialdom. All workers must join with the imprisoned New York fighters to defend the right to strike. Release the prisoners! If a good strike is a crime—



Ben Gold

LABOR DEFENSE IN PICTURES

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A report on defense and relief work being given in a factory of the Soviet Union.



A freethinker's delegation at the Red Aid in Moscow. Klara Zetkin in the center.



A demonstration organized by the French labor defense for political prisoners



A student demonstration in Canton, China.



A decorated auto in the campaign of the Vienna labor defense for political refugees



A demonstration held in Hyde Park, London, the favorite meeting place of radical and labor organizations in that city for many years. Thousands of workers participated.

The demonstration was organized by the International Class War Prisoners, Aid, which, incidentally, has given signal service in rallying labor opinion in Britain for Sacco and Vanzetti.

Sacco and Vanzetti Must Not Burn on t

THE Sacco-Vanzetti case has been a part of American labor history in the making. It is seven years now since Sacco and Vanzetti have been in the shadow of the electric chair. I do not believe that history knows of a similar case to this. I do not believe that we could find anywhere a case of such prolonged torture as the holding of the sentence of death over the heads of men for seven years and at the end of that time we can come together for a meeting and not know yet whether that sentence is to be executed or not.

The cause of Sacco and Vanzetti demands of us, of the entire labor movement, militant, unhesitating and unified support. We may have different opinions on many problems, but there is one thing that we have become sure of in these seven years in which we have said our word for Sacco and Vanzetti. We have become absolutely convinced that the case of Sacco and Vanzetti, the case of these two Italian workers in Massachusetts is not the case of two hold-up men or bandits. We have become convinced that it is the working class against the capitalists. We have become convinced that Sacco and Vanzetti are not only innocent of this specific crime with which they are charged, but that they are innocent of any crime except that of being victims of exploitation by the capitalists of the masses.

Their case is a universal one indeed, and it has gone so far that we do not need to discuss it from a legal standpoint; but for those who are interested it has been set forth by Mr. Holly and we can say for others, that recently a book was published by Professor Felix Frankfurter in which he comes to the conclusion that there is no case against Sacco and Vanzetti.

But the case of Sacco and Vanzetti has a far bigger significance than any legal procedure. Sacco and Vanzetti began in this case as two employees, obscure fighters of the working class, but they have grown in these years until their personalities have made their impression not only in Massachusetts, not only in the United States, but all over Europe and America.

Sacco and Vanzetti have grown as the great symbols of the whole labor movement. They stand for the upward struggle against oppression and exploitation, for fearless defiance of the enemies of labor with which the best representatives of the working class are instinct.

Everyone today knows why the bourgeois of Massachusetts arrested, imprisoned and tried Sacco and Vanzetti. Had they not been scrupulously loyal to the cause of the working class they would not now be faced with the grim march to the death chair. Had they remained silent while their brothers and comrades around them suffered persecution and oppression, had they not made the ideal of the liberation of the working class their own ideal, there would not today be a

past, they would have been freed to achieve obloquy.

But they did none of this. Despite the hundreds of interminable nights and days of imprisonment, with the ghastly thought of execution constantly in their minds, they have remained as simply true to the workers' cause as they were before this infamous frame-up was conceived in the minds of the Massachusetts reaction. Yes, their persecution has even steeled their convictions and history has already bound them inseparably with the history of the American labor movement.

After seven years they come to court for sentence, and I wish that every worker in America could read the speech that Vanzetti made there. After seven years of torture and seven years of fighting by friends and comrades with the death sentence, this man stood up in court not as one guilty, not as one afraid, but turned to the judge on the bench and said to him:

"You are the one that is afraid. You are the one that is shrinking with fear, because you are

the one that is guilty.

Vanzetti called merely legal with Judge Thayer's attitude decided to hold men of our period Gorki, Bernard S. Einstein. He pointed out that he had protested against labor fighters.

He turned to Eugene Debs who measured guilt and dence in court at that. Let us not forget Eugene Debs who wrote workers of America appeal whose stirring renewed vigor the thousands in this court million-voiced dem



A Lawyer Looks at Sacco and Vanzetti

A Review of Felix Frankfurter's New Book

by Thurber Lewis

EVERY reasonable probability points away from Sacco and Vanzetti; every reasonable probability points towards the Morelli gang. This is the conclusion of one of the foremost authorities on Anglo-American jurisprudence reviewing the famous case in reference to the startling Madeiros confession introduced by the defense. This evidence, now fairly well known, involves revelations made by an actual participant in the crime for which Sacco and Vanzetti have been sentenced to their death on July

those who for seven years were working and fighting for the release of the two Italian workers, this new evidence is necessary. It was not after that hour of three in the afternoon on 15th, 1920, when the two brothers were shot down in Braintree, Massachusetts that Federal Detectives told the two radical workers to the police as the perpetrators of the crime; but it had even less time for the workers of Boston, themselves victims of the same Palmer Hysteria that netted Sacco and Vanzetti, to proclaim that Italian comrades were the men of a frame-up.

During the long months of the final trial and the longer months of the subsequent appeals—no doubt crept in. The evidence was not necessary for fellow workers of Sacco and Vanzetti who could very easily understand—knew and—the frame-up. But the evidence was there too. Overwhelming and convincing. Then six years later came the confession of Madeiros. To those who have been aware of the character of the persecution, the ultra-biased judge, the manufactured hysteria thrown about the entire legal process, the more than convincing evidence of the first trial—Madeiros may just as well have gone to his doom with sealed lips. But to those whose faith in capitalist courts has not been shaken by an understanding of the class nature of these institutions—the Madeiros confession and the subsequent new evidence built upon it has had its effect. It was this fact that made the case respectable, that brought out as champions of Sacco and Vanzetti

Felix Frankfurter, of Harvard Law School, is responsible for the quotation cited at the beginning. It appears in a book called "The Case of Sacco and Vanzetti". It is a purely legal work. The class nature of the persecution of Sacco and Vanzetti is not part of the professor's thesis. He approaches his subject from the viewpoint of a lawyer thoroughly familiar with the

secure it and inasmuch as the United States District Court for Massachusetts had checked abuses in deportation proceedings the department had become chary of resorting to deportation without adequate legal basis. The arrest of Sacco and Vanzetti furnished the agents of the Department of Justice their opportunity. Altho the opinion of the agents working on the case was that the South Braintree job was the work of professionals and that Sacco and Vanzetti, altho anarchists and agitators, were not highway robbers and had nothing to do with the South Braintree crime, (M. R. 146) yet they collaborated with the District Attorney in the prosecution of Sacco and Vanzetti for murder. 'For it was the opinion of department agents here that a conviction of Sacco and Vanzetti for murder would be one way of disposing of these two men' (M. R. 146)."

The lines quoted by Frankfurter and followed by the parenthetical references are from the affidavits of the two former agents of the department. There is definite proof that intimate collaboration existed between the Department of Justice and the District Attorney's office in the prosecution of the two victims. This means that there is extensive correspondence in the files of the Department regarding this collaboration. An appeal was made to Attorney-General Sargent for this correspondence to be made available for inspection. It was flatly refused!



complexities of the law and on more than speaking terms with the particular law involved—Massachusetts law.

It is probable that after seven years very few persons still remember the basis of this now historical frame-up.

THE original cause of Sacco and Vanzetti's sentence to death was the Department of Justice whose head at that time was A. Mitchell Palmer, the "Red-Baiter". Let Frankfurter tell the story on the basis of affidavits in the hands of the defense from Department of Justice agents themselves part of the frame-up:

"The names of Sacco and Vanzetti were on the files of the Department of Justice as 'radicals to be watched'; the

"GENTLEMEN of the Jury, do your duty. Do it like men. Stand together you men of Norfolk", was the way the prosecuting attorney summed up in the trial.

"The Commonwealth of Massachusetts called upon you to render a most important service. Altho you knew that such service would be arduous, painful and tiresome, yet you, like the true soldier, responded to that call in the spirit of supreme American loyalty. There is no better word in the English language than loyalty."

So began Judge Thayer's charge to the jury after the prosecution had finished.

The Electric Chair

A speech held at the Sacco-Vanzetti Mass Meeting in Chicago on May 13, 1927

By James P. Cannon 38939

of attempt to murder."

witnesses there, and not
He marshalled before
on the thousands who have
meetings such as ours, and
e Anatole France, Maxim
Henri Barbusse, Albert
to the many millions who
at the death-hunt of two

Victor Debs and other
not forget that we should
ocence not by formal evi-
but by higher values than
et that the last thing that
sly was an appeal to the
or Sacco and Vanzetti, an
language aroused with re-
st of hundreds of thou-
and brought again the
for life and freedom to

these two valiant fighters, and condemnation of
their persecutors.

It is hard to speak with restraint. I, like Com-
rade Chaplin, also had the honor of speaking
with Vanzetti. Everyone that has seen and
spoken with him comes away with the feeling
that he has stood in the presence of one of the
greatest spirits of the time.

It is hard to speak with restraint when one
is pressed by the thought that the vengeful ex-
ecutioners of Massachusetts are consummating
their hideous plan to press the switch that will
forever remove from our ranks the persons of
these two men who we feel are so much a part
of labor and its cause. Our impassioned deter-
mination to mobilize all of our strength and
power to rescue Sacco and Vanzetti from their
blood-lusty jailors must be communicated thru-
out the land if we are to save them from the
fate that has been prepared for them.

While I believe with the statements of Fitz-
patrick that our meeting should disassociate it-
self from irresponsible people, let us not forget
the year 1916 when Joe Hill was killed in Utah.
We must remember that when the wave of work-
ing class protest began to rise in protection of
Joe Hill, gangs of detectives began to frame-up
fake letters. After the heart of Joe Hill had been
pierced by the bullets of the death squad, it was
exposed that frame-up letters had been used. This
must be a lesson for us and for those who are the
friends of Sacco and Vanzetti.

There is no need to threaten the governor or
anyone else because the protection of Sacco and
Vanzetti is far stronger than any personal act.
The protection of Sacco and Vanzetti is the job
of the working class of the world, which is knock-
ing on the door, not with the hands of irrespon-
sible individuals, but with the titanic fist of
the workers of the wide world because they be-
lieve in the innocence of Sacco and Vanzetti. We
say to you, our friends and our chairman, before
they turn on the switch, that the real aim is not
to burn Sacco and Vanzetti in the electric chair
but to burn the labor movement in America.

If the workers of America and the workers of
the world are determined enough and encouraged
enough, we can yet save Sacco and Vanzetti. And
it is in that spirit that we meet here tonight. We
do not meet here to resign ourselves to their
fate. We meet as another stage in the fight for
Sacco and Vanzetti. We believe that the work-
ers assembled here will go back to their organiza-
tions and their jobs and raise again the battle
cry for Sacco and Vanzetti.

Let us demand not only the liberation of Sacco
and Vanzetti. Let us demand also the impeach-
ment of the monstrous judge who tried and sen-
tenced them. Let us consider ways and means
of making our protest more effective. From this
great movement, from the words of Sacco and
Vanzetti, let us draw inspiration.

We have hope, and we have faith in the work-
ers of America, and in the workers of the rest
of the world who have so often and readily re-
sponded to the calls for solidarity and aid for
Sacco and Vanzetti. Every worker in the land
must be made to realize the monstrosity and sig-
nificance to the whole labor movement of this
crime. Every worker must stand shoulder to
shoulder with his brothers to build a solid wall
of defense for the victims of the Massachusetts
bourbons who are bent on their bestial revenge.
Only the great and inspiring solidarity of the
whole working class will succeed.



Life and freedom for Sacco and Vanzetti

A REBEL WORKER'S LIFE AN AUTOBIOGRAPHY

By Eugene Barnett

(Continued from previous issue.)

As he and another, Stockman, were having trouble over a piece of government land, which neither of them had any claim to, and both were trying to pasture, he volunteered to locate me on this land, as a homestead, thinking eventually he would get it. I filed on it. I packed a plow down the mountain to it, on a pack horse. I plowed up a small piece for a garden. It was so steep I had to plow one way and drag the plow back empty, turning the dirt down the hill all the time.

Then I went to town and got two spools of wire and took them there on horseback. You couldn't get it there with a wagon or sled. Too steep. When I took the first roll off the horse, I laid it down, and turned to take the other one. I heard a noise behind me. When I looked around I saw the spool of wire I had laid down rolling down the mountain. I took the other one off and took a rope and tied it to a rock. Then I went after the other spool. When I built my fence I planted a garden. I then went to a sawmill about six miles away to work. I got \$1.25 a day, off-bearing behind the log saw.

I would go down to the homestead on Sundays and hoe my garden. I was happy, for I was going to have a home. So I thought, but one day when I went down after a week's absence, I found the fence cut in several places and the garden trampled to the ground by the range cattle. I felt blue, but I fixed it up and went back to work. I worked out lumber to build a cabin. That fall I packed the lumber down on a horse and built myself a cabin.

Next spring I plowed a bigger piece and put in some grain for hay. I worked at the saw mill till grain harvest started on the prairie. I had cut my hay with a scythe about a month before this, for it is done earlier there than on the prairie. So I put the hay in my cabin to keep the stock from getting to it and went to the harvest. I got a job driving a bundle wagon. The first day I went out to the machine, I was boozy. In fact I was so drunk I had trouble to keep my seat at the table.

The girl who is now my wife was cooking. I was ashamed of myself in her presence, although it was the first



Barnett's wife and son.

did not even notice that I was drinking that day. When I got back to the machine, a good friend of mine offered me a drink of good whiskey. I said, "No, I'll never touch it again. I'm going to marry that cook." And I have never touched liquor since.

I worked there six days and the man who owned the team I was working came and took it. That put me out of a job. I then got a job on another machine and worked twelve days, when it started to rain. We had to lay off. During the layoff, a horse fell with me and I broke my collar bone. So I worked no more that fall.

That winter, after my collar bone healed, I hewed house logs for a fellow and got an old cow for my work. She freshened in the spring. She gave so much milk that the calf could not take it all, and as I had to work out, I

plow for me, but they said it was too steep and wouldn't come. So all I got was what I could plow with my saddle pony.

The same spring I went to see my wife for the first time since I left the machine the year before. She remembered me, and I went with her steady after that, going to see her about once every two weeks. It was about 35 miles over mountain trails. We became engaged. I started a new house 14 by 20 feet, with a kitchen built on one side 10 by 12 feet. I had to work the lumber out at the mill, and then haul it to the top of the mountain, and after that pack it two miles on horse back.

Once while I was away, some one cut my fence again, opened my cabin door, and turned some of my lumber loose down the mountain. When I came home, the cabin was full of yearlings and more standing outside bawling because they could not get in. My clothes were chewed full of holes and so were my blankets, pots and pans. My groceries were wasted. I got the calves out and cleaned things up, then took my horse and went down to bring my lumber back. But some of it was split and broken till it was worthless. So I had to buy more.

When harvest time came, I had the walls up for all the house and most of the lumber down. I left it and went



Kopiah, Wash., the kind of places workers live in.

could not be home to milk her, so I had to sell her.

I worked at the saw mill again. That spring I had more ground plowed than before, but not as much as I wanted. I had no team and no one would sell me one; for they wanted to starve me out so that the land would stay open to run cattle on—it is a fine summer

out to work. My wife was going to work for an outfit, so I got a job with the same crew. I got in 25 days at \$2.75 a day. After the harvest, my wife and I were married. We spent all we had for a housekeeping outfit. While my wife's brother took the stuff around the wagon road, my wife and I hit the trail horseback. A five-h-

mine and destroy the Russian armies. Perhaps the editors never heard of the many editions of Will Irwin's pacifist books on the horrors of war, the vital need for disarmament to prevent another cataclysm (as well as of some kind of world league), or of his enormously popular lectures from coast to coast stressing the same points. The fact that he was pro-war during the war itself in his writings need not affect his present color. For many a pacifist and even so-called pro-war socialist delivered patriotic lectures and wrote pro-war articles while the war was on, only to revert to type afterwards,—pacifistic, for disarmament or socialistic, and in effect at least unpatriotic. Irwin mentions several of these pro-war socialists himself admiringly in the present articles—William Ghent, William English Walling and John Spargo—explaining them thus, when they seceded from the Socialist Party in 1917:

"John Spargo, who with several other American socialists signed the manifesto, declaring that the true interests of *democracy and therefore of Socialism*, lay in the hands of the Allies." (Italics supplied to show how the radicals use the word "democracy," with a little "d," and "socialism" synonymously.) Mr. Irwin seems to have spilled some beans that time.

Further, to note how "unbiased" he is on his present subject, at the very time he must have been writing the Legion articles, he was Vice-Chairman of the National Council for Prevention of War, whose Chairman, Frederick J. Libby, contributor to the Socialistic *New Leader* and Pacifist exponent of non-resistance, is barred from speaking in the public

schools of Washington, D. C. Mr. Libby's organization specializes in propaganda for disarmament under the guise of world peace, and is on record as "an advocate of Soviet Russia."

As long as it has been suggested that Mr. Irwin is a conscious or unconscious propagandist, it may be well to clear the atmosphere by defining what propaganda is to any keen observer:

Now a pretty good definition is Irwin's own amused comment upon one of his statements in the present series when he says, "I have been accurate but I have not been quite truthful"—in a word giving certain facts but conveying a wrong impression. But perhaps a better definition of propaganda is: "Exaggerating certain facts and withholding others, in order to put something over."

If at this point Mr. Irwin should challenge, (since he seems to have fallen victim to the radicals' pretense that militant American patriots are propagandists), that defenders of the Constitution are also propagandists—the defenders would deny the soft impeachment! Fortunately, all that American patriots require is a fair hearing; and they accordingly are not propagandists trying to put something over, but open salesmen for the Constitution of the United States.

To return to the charge that Mr. Irwin is a propagandist, conscious or unconscious, perhaps it is only fair to him to say there are not so many exaggerations in his articles as there are straight inaccuracies and withholdings. It should be noted parenthetically that Mr. Irwin poses as an authority on the subject of red radicals; and that on the I. W. W. section at least, he has in his wife, Inez

Haynes Irwin, an apparent sympathizer with, and a contributor to the L W W cause.

t's first quarrel with Mr.

at though he does quite properly divide red radicals into two families—the "Communist-Socialist comrades" and the "Anarchist-Syndicalist comrades"—he fails to emphasize the third and perhaps most important section of all, the "near reds" or "sucker-trapper comrades," who often supply funds for the reds and are sometimes known as "pinks." These "pinks," commonly of the middle or wealthy bourgeois classes, are again divided thus: the tools, unconsciously exploited to prepare the way for the reds or, as they are known in Moscow, the "suckers of the revolution"; and their mentors, the "superpinks," who have studied how thus to exploit them. Mr. Irwin mentions a few of both shadings but does not make their usefulness clear.

A second challenge to Mr. Irwin is that though he is accurate about the really revolutionary element in the United States being comparatively small in numbers, he fails to note its growth during the last two years. And though he does note that Moscow now trains very small groups of American-born radicals, or nuclei, to propagandize or infect larger groups, he does not mention their boast, according to Wm. Z. Foster, "We no longer work for numbers," or the justification of that boast.

No one could quarrel with Mr. Irwin's expert definition of "A Red Radical" (including a Socialist), when he presents such a one as "A person who believes in abolishing property rights" although "confiscating property" might be more clear; and later, when referring to Marx's

"Kapital," "Ownership was to reside in the state. . . . Towards this objective the working classes should work by every means in their power, *political when it served their purpose, violence when it served better,*" (Italics supplied,) Mr. Irwin is wholly clear. But he is disappointing again in his conclusion when, writing as if the leopard could change his spots, he declares that present-day Socialists have "diluted" their scheme of helping to prepare for the social revolution, adding that there is "a sharp division between the Marxians and the Moderates."

Not so, Mr. Irwin! Let him refer to the Socialist, Louis Waldman, who as late as September 1919 said: "If I knew we could sway the boys when they get the guns to use them against the capitalist class, I would be for universal military training." Also he might look up the Socialist, Hillquit's cynical comment of September 1919 on the lack of any fundamental difference between the Socialists and the Communists, but rather a difference "of methods and policies." Again, Mr. Irwin might note how Eugene Debs, when running for president of the United States in 1920, reassured some red followers complaining that Debs' Socialist platform was "not revolutionary enough."

"However," said Debs, "a platform is not so important after all. A platform is something like a musical instrument. You can breathe the breath of revolution into any platform, and play any particular tune you like on it."

Or finally, someone should remind Mr. Irwin of his own statement of 1926 that "radical policies sometimes shift from 'constitutional' methods

to violence and back again, according to the situation."

When it comes to the way that the Socialist Party of America went back on America during the World War, Irwin briefly glosses this betrayal over thus: "A working majority of Socialists which opposed the war kept up their opposition in spite of many prosecutions, even after we entered."

Fairly accurate, but conveying a wrong impression; it was the Socialist Party of the United States (with certain exceptions) which opposed the war, as may be seen by quoting in part the first paragraph of the Socialists' War Proclamation of April 1917:

"The Socialist Party of the United States, in the present grave crisis, solemnly reaffirms its allegiance to the principles of internationalism . . . and proclaims its unalterable opposition to the war just declared by the Government of the United States." Other important parts of the proclamation omitted by Mr. Irwin include the statement that the German submarine ruthless war policy was "not an invasion of the rights of the American people as such": orders for Socialists to work against our Government, including any proposed legislation for military or industrial conscription, censorship of enemy mail, press, etc., military training and teaching in the public schools, etc., as well as orders *to work for confiscation of property rights*.

Certainly Mr. Irwin left out an earful that time!

Another of his serious mistakes is when he belittles the Communist Manifesto of Karl Marx and presents Marx's later huge volume, "Kapital," as the present-day Socialist working

program. As a matter of fact, the little Communist Manifesto, though written in 1848, was carried out almost to the letter in Russia in 1917; and is still known as the working plan, or the Bible of the Socialists; whereas, the bulky "Kapital" is read only by the elect, because it occasionally reverses itself within the same covers.

Of all Mr. Irwin's "withholdings," perhaps the most unfortunate is, when he accurately relates only part of the story—precisely how the Bolshevik brothers wrested power away from Kerensky's "pacifist hands" in 1917. He says, "The orthodox, die-hard, stand-pat Marxian Socialists, in Russia, the Bolsheviks got control of the Army," adding, "In one burst they accomplished that armed social revolution." Here he is both misleading and inaccurate. Misleading, because he withholds the fact that the Bolsheviks had persuaded Kerensky, then Socialist War Premier into disarming his own soldiers, this with a pacifist campaign financed by Germany, before they struck with the Bolshevik Red Guard; and inaccurate because it took not one burst, but several months of the Bolshevik propagandists' work, to destroy the discipline of and to disarm Russia's far larger armies.

It is alleged by some that, in neglecting to warn his readers that it was the German-inspired Pacifist trick which wrecked the Russian armies in 1917 and put one of our own allies out of commission, Mr. Irwin is risking playing the rôle of a Kerensky!

And strangely enough, the Pacifist Kerensky himself with superb insolence has come to America, March 1927, here to spoon out soothing

syrup! For instance, in his advice to Americans, (diligently broadcast by our press,) though Kerensky berates the Bolsheviks in Russia, he also pooh-poohs any real peril from their agents within our country or even via Mexico and Nicaragua. Nay he goes further than Mr. Irwin, by being tender with his supposed enemies and using the very slogan of our own Bolshevik, or Communist sympathizers,—the "Hands off Russia," (referring to any aid to genuine Russians in dethroning their Bolshevik tyrants); and the "Please trade with Russia," on the ground that bolstering up their finances will defeat the Bolsheviks!

Really, Mr. Kerensky must fancy that all Americans are naïve, forgetful or else thoroughly soothed. Some of us, however, have noted what Sir Robert Horne said on June 25, 1926, as to official trading on the part of Great Britain with the so-called Soviets: "Nearly every stipulation that was solemnly made has been broken from time to time, and it has been broken in the most flagrant fashion during the last ten days by persons who were solemnly bound to its terms."

And a keen American woman has lately said in print: "Today a 'Liberal'—so-called—is one who greases the downhill road to Communism. Kerensky who headed the first 1917 revolution in Russia is a perfect example. He simply prepared the way for Lenin and Trotzky, who took control from his pacifist hand and sent Russia hurtling to destruction."

However, to return to Mr. Irwin:

Any defender of the Constitution must mourn most of all because Mr. Irwin has failed to label the entire Socialist philosophy for what it is,—a movement of deception, even for the

working people. And it is hard to forgive him for not including in his analysis of red radicals that ever-swelling class of "near radicals"—who fancy a Socialist revolution can be achieved without violence or by "evolution"; or avoided by arbitration or philanthropy, or by scrapping the Monroe Doctrine, or by trade relations, or by conciliation, or by just plain disarmament talk—thus preparing the way for the reds.

Though Mr. Irwin does sketchily refer to some of these "pinks" of the Intelligentsia and College type (even casually to the Garland brand),—he does not even hint that these visionary followers of the radicals are the unfortunate victims of the second and sinister class of "pinks," certain college professors, teachers, lecturers and even clergymen (often posing as conservatives), skilled in exaggerating certain facts, and withholding others, in order to implant socialistic or pacifistic ideas. These are the "super-pinks." And Mr. Irwin might have discovered one of them, Mrs. Florence Kelley, for himself by consulting page 13, in No. 6 of the "Little Red Library," called "Revolution in America." Here are explicit directions from the German Communist, Engels, as long ago as 1887, to Mrs. Kelley, his American collaborator, telling her how best to infect her fellow Americans with the Communist germ.

"The real movement," wrote Engels to Florence Kelley, (then known as Mrs. Wichnewtsky) referring to Socialism, "*always looks different to what it ought to have done in the eyes of those who were tools in preparing it.*" (Italics supplied.)

Here then in this little pamphlet, are disclosed three classes of red rad-

icals: The first noted by Irwin, the Communist Party of America (note page 6), honest and above-board in its determination to wrest control from the Government of the United States and to confiscate the property of its citizens; second, the unconscious red radicals, the poor "tools" to whom the movement "looks different to what it ought to have done"; and finally, the third class of "super-pinks" as represented by Florence Kelley, known for years merely as head of the National Consumers League, member of the League of Women Voters, etc., but all the while really a conscious propagandist for Communist doctrines in the United States of America.

Other errors of omission or commission of Mr. Irwin which deserve notice are as follows:

1. Though he does set forth and does mention that Communism is opposed to Christianity, that the political program of Socialism is abolition of property rights, he does not make it clear that the philosophy of Socialism or Marx's materialistic conception of history, is, in effect, no religion, no morality, no patriotism!

2. When he states that LaFollette's Progressive Party of 1924 was endorsed by the American Federation of Labor and the Socialists, he leaves out the fact that *it was also endorsed by some Communist leaders.*

3. Mr. Irwin does grave injustice to all trade unions as well as non-trade union working people, to Socialists and Communists alike, when he neglects to note that the radical leaders fool the working men with their promises perhaps even more tragically than the Bourgeoisie. For with Communist Russia's agents all over the world, cursing capitalism, Com-

munist Russia is partially back to capitalism today, but according to precedent, may confiscate all over again tomorrow. Furthermore, now that Socialists are in control in Russia, strikes there are largely forbidden; workers must go wherever the State sends them and work at whatever trade the State orders; there is no secret ballot allowed in elections, and no freedom of speech or press under the Communist Government, —known today officially as the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics.

4. And finally, perhaps the most inexplicable inaccuracies of all—for a newspaper man—occur in Mr. Irwin's second article on the I. W. W.

The first, in reporting how an incensed mob of Southern Californians in 1918 "branded the skin of Ben Wightmen, Syndicalist-Anarchist agitator, with the initials of the organization," Irwin should have been careful to spell that agitator's name rightly—Ben Reitman. For though the branding cannot be vouched for, yet this radical is the identical Reitman who was run out of San Diego, now advertised in our press as president of the Hobo College in Chicago; and physician to the County jail there; the same Reitman who was seriously interviewed by the press in England, in 1926, and reported here as an American labor authority.

The second unfortunate omission occurs in Irwin's glorification of Prof. Carleton Parker's part as Government conciliator for the I. W. W. during the war. For according to documented letters in the Lusk Report, all the while Prof. Parker was posing as *impartial mediator*, he was actually helping to prepare I. W. W. pamphlets!

But then, perhaps, Mr. Irwin has again followed the radicals of all col-

gandists: There are only a handful of reds in America; these are not getting anywhere; those who say so are fanatics seeking publicity or else "tools of the interest,—"

It only seems fair to say that Will Irwin, consciously or unconsciously, is a "near-red" radical, a potential Kerensky, a paver of the way for the reds; and in the way of shading, a delicate tint of pink.

Among our own American Socialists addicted to serving soothing syrup of late is August Claesseeus, connected with the leaflet, *Hands Off Mexico*, when he wrote to Secretary Kellogg about "recent political revivals of the hysterical 'red menace.'" Another is James Oneal, in a public letter first belittling any red peril in America and then adding that "some people simply cannot be happy unless they believe in a 'Bolshevist' menace."

Occasionally even a Bolshevik leader like Zinoviev will broadcast soothing news for "Bourgeois" consumption as in 1924, when he complained (in print) that there were then only 5000 Communists in the United States who could be depended upon. But it is easy to find other statements of Communist leaders, when addressing *Communists only*, boasting of the Communistic strength over here.

Among the college professor radicals of Mr. Irwin's soothing propensities is the I. W. W. contributor and Lenin admirer, Prof. John Dewey who, at a meeting of Chinese Communists in America on March 13, 1927, (according to a caption in the *New York Evening Post*) composed of . . . "900 Chinese and 100 white persons." "... Dewey Ridicules Red Hope." Another College Professor radical on the same order is James

Harvey Robinson, as he ridicules in his writings the thoroughly documented proof of a threatening Red Revolution in the Lusk Report.

Among the Pinks (and he who will shall classify these) who, though they often condemn the Reds until a crisis arrives but are likely to support them at critical moments—pooh-poohing the idea of any Red peril in the meantime—are Jane Addams, Prof. Harry Overstreet and of course our own Senator Borah type of politician.

Whether all of these and other tragically misled moulders of public opinion in America know as much or not they, like Mr. Irwin, are thus cheering Moscow enormously. For when speaking to Communists alone, though the Moscow Reds are as brutally frank as was one of their agitators, James P. Cannon, when addressing a Communist meeting in Boston on January 20, 1927, . . . "We are working to-day in China, we are working to-day everywhere. *Our time will come, America will topple; tomorrow belongs to us,*"—Moscow's idol, Lenin, once shrewdly advised, "We must be clever enough to build Communism with non-Communist hands."

In other words, the Reds at Moscow know that their only real chance of success is to keep America in general half asleep to the peril, its fighting men wholly off guard and its Bourgeois leaders soothed. Indeed, according to a Swiss newspaper of 1926, this point was made vividly clear by placards then carried about the streets of Moscow, reading:

"Our best allies are the apathy and indifference of our enemies."

For additional copies of this pamphlet—at ten cents each—write to Hermine Schwed, Box 103, Staten Island, New York.

orings in trying to label the Lusk Report as discredited—the result of fear, fanaticism, mob hysteria, or to advance “special interests!”

So far we have been dealing largely with the exaggerations, inaccuracies and withholdings of Mr. Irwin. It still remains to prove him a propagandist for near-socialism, conscious or unconscious; in other words, to present something socialistic which he puts over. Very well, on page 85 of his concluding article, by unmistakable implication, Mr. Irwin puts over guild Socialism. He says, in reference to labor banks, employee ownership of stock, etc., “All this tends towards *that solution of the Social question* (italics supplied) which we used to call ‘guild socialism.’”

Poor Mr. Irwin! He doesn't seem to know that there is a great deal more to guild Socialism than these measures or even that there is plenty of data at hand, to the effect that guild socialism has already been tried in England within the last few years, and failed! Somewhat as William Ghent, the pro-war Socialist, who published a book not so long ago, warning us against the reds, the pinks, the yellows, the New Republic, the Nation, the Survey type of journal, and all manner of near-socialists, yet winding up with the astounding conclusion that the solution is Collectivism—Collectivism being one of the Socialistic varieties not included in Mr. Ghent's warnings!

It would be easy to point out in these intriguing, brilliantly written papers of Mr. Irwin, more half truths, accuracies, inaccuracies, etc., all leading up to sophistry—or to put the matter more bluntly, to a misleading conclusion. We have been sold something which is not up to specifications. Mr. Irwin has apparently not noted

that “The program for the destruction of Great Britain closely resembles that for the destruction of the United States. . . . One plan in fact for crime and destruction, the other to deceive the liberal and constitutionalist, these last to be the ‘suckers’ of the revolution.” (From the *English Patriot*, Jan. 4, 1923.)

Mr. Irwin seems not even to have noticed that the American radical, Roger Baldwin of the so-called Civil Liberties Union, fraternized with the “Reds in America” during the war and advised Louis Lochner, the Communist organizer of Soviets in this country at the time, “Do steer away from making it look like a socialist enterprise. . . . We want to look like patriots in everything we do.”

Just now when radicals of American birth are attempting to work up sympathy here for Mexican Communists, for Chinese Communists and for homegrown Communists, and to undermine confidence in our own Government, it might be well for Mr. Irwin to do a little intensive studying. For though he seems to understand a little of the danger of American Communist propaganda among patriotic workingmen, he apparently does not even see the enormously greater danger of misled American men and women propagandizing among the patriotic middle and wealthier classes—the Bourgeoisie of America.

To sum up, however, and revert to a question which springs to mind, “How can we classify Will Irwin?”

Since he exaggerates certain facts, withholds others and manages to convey the impression that the solution of the red menace is guild socialism; since he further offers the following “Soothing Syrup for Patriots,” beloved of the actual Moscow propa-

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Educational, Religious, and Social Circles.

LETTER FROM COLONEL ROOSEVELT TO FELIX FRANKFURTER, COUNSEL FOR
PRESIDENT WILSON'S MEDIATION COMMISSION IN THE MOONEY CASE.

December 19, 1917.

My dear Mr. Frankfurter:

I thank you for your frank letter. I answer it at length because you have taken, and are taking, on behalf of the Administration an attitude which seems to me to be fundamentally that of Trotsky and the other Bolsheviki leaders in Russia; an attitude which may be fraught with mischief to this country.

As for the conduct of the trial, it seems to me that Judge Dunne's statement which I quoted in my published letter covers it. I have not been able to find any one who seriously questions Mr. Dunne's character, judicial fitness and ability, or standing. Moreover it seems to me that your own letter makes it perfectly plain that the movement for the recall of Fickert was due primarily, not in the least to any real or general feeling as to the alleged shortcomings on his part, but to what I can only call the Bolsheviki sentiment. The other accusations against him were mere camouflage. The assault was made upon him because he had attacked the murderous element, the dynamite and anarchy group of labor agitators. The movement against him was essentially similar to movements on behalf of the McNamaras, and on behalf of Moyer and Haywood. Some of the correspondents who attacked me frankly stated that they were for Mooney and Billings just as they had been for the McNamaras and for Moyer and Haywood. In view of Judge Dunne's statement it is perfectly clear that even if Judge Dunne is in error in his belief as to the trial being straight and proper, it was an error into which entirely honest men could fall.

But the question of granting a re-trial is one thing. The question of the recall is entirely distinct. Even if a re-trial were proper this would not in the least justify a recall - any more than a single grave error on your part would justify your impeachment, or the impeachment of President Wilson for appointing you. [REDACTED] and I.W.W. and "direct action" anarchists and apologists for anarchy are never concerned for justice. They are concerned solely in seeing one kind of criminal escape justice, precisely as certain big business men and certain corporation lawyers have in the past been concerned in seeing another kind of criminal escape justice. The guiding spirits in the movement for the recall of Fickert cared not a rap whether or not Mooney and Billings were guilty; probably they believed them guilty; all they were concerned with was seeing a rebuke administered to, and an evil lesson taught all public officials who might take action against crimes of violence committed by anarchists in the name of some foul and violent "protest against social conditions." Murder is murder, and it is rather more evil, when committed in the name of a professed social movement. It was no mere accident, it was the natural sequence of cause and effect that the agitation for the recall of Fickert, because he fearlessly prosecuted the dynamiters (and of course no human being doubts that Billings and Mooney were in some shape or other privy to the outrage) should have been accompanied by the dynamite outrage at the Governor's mansion. The reactionaries have in the past been a great menace to this republic; but at this moment it is the I. W. W. the Germanized b7C

Socialists, the Anarchists, the foolish creatures who always protest against the suppression of crime, the pacifists and the like, under the lead of the Hearsts and LaFollettes, and Bergers, and Hillquits, the [redacted] and [redacted] and [redacted] who are the really grave danger. These are the Bolsheviki of America, and the Bolsheviki are just as bad as the Romanoffs, and are at the moment a greater menace to orderly freedom. Robespierre and Danton and Marat and Herbert were just as evil as the worst tyrants of the old regime, and from 1791 to 1794 they were the most dangerous enemies to liberty that the world contained. When you, as representing President Wilson, find yourself obliged to champion men of this stamp you ought by unequivocal affirmative action to make it evident that you are sternly against their general and habitual line of conduct. b7C

I have just received your report on the Bisbee deportation. One of the prominent leaders in that deportation was my old friend Jack Greenway, who has just been commissioned a Major in the Army by President Wilson. Your report is as thoroughly misleading a document as could be written on the subject. No official, writing on behalf of the President, is to be excused for failure to know, and clearly to set forth, that the I. W. W. is a criminal organization. To ignore the fact that a movement such as its members made into Bisbee is made with criminal intent is precisely as foolish as for a New York policeman to ignore the fact that when the Whyo gang assembles with guns and knives it is with criminal intent. The President is not to be excused if he ignores this fact for of course he knows all about it. No human being in his senses doubts that the men deported from Bisbee were bent on destruction and murder. If the President through you or anyone else had any right to look into the matter, this very fact shows that he had been remiss in his clear duty to provide against the very grave danger in advance. When no efficient means are employed to guard honest, upright and well behaved citizens from the most brutal kind of lawlessness it is inevitable that these citizens shall try to protect themselves; that is as true when the President fails to do his duty about the I. W. W. as when the police fail to do their duty about gangs like the Whyo gang; and when either the President or the Police, personally or by representative, rebuke the men who defend themselves from criminal assault, it is necessary sharply to point out that far heavier blame attached to the authorities who fail to give the needed protection, and up to the investigators who fail to point out the criminal character of the anarchistic organization against which the decent citizens have taken action. Here again you are engaged in excusing men precisely like the Bolsheviki in Russia, who are murderers and encouragers of murder, who are traitors to their allies, to democracy and to civilization, as well as to the United States, and whose acts are nevertheless apologized for on grounds, My dear Mr. Frankfurter, substantially like those which you allege. In times of danger nothing is more common and nothing more dangerous to the republic, than for men, often ordinarily well meaning men - to avoid condemning the criminals who are really public enemies by making their entire assault on the shortcomings of the good citizens who have been the victims of opponents of the criminals. This was done not only by Danton and Robespierre but by many of their ordinarily honest associates in connection with, for instance the "September massacres." It is not the kind of thing I care to see well meaning men do in this country.

Sincerely yours,
Signed: THEODORE ROOSEVELT

133 WEST WASHINGTON STREET, R-1007
CHICAGO



Mr. J. E. Hoover,
Bureau of Investigation,
Department of Justice - Washington, D.C.

Personal

THE [REDACTED]
RAIVELY TAKES "THE CHRONICLE"
TO TASK AND IS PROPERLY SQUELCHED
BY THE EDITOR.
(N.A. JUNE - JUNE 23, 1927)

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"The Chronicle", the official organ of the Protestant Episcopal Society for the Promotion of Evangelical Knowledge, published at Poughkeepsie, N.Y., a well edited church medium standing for "home, church and country" and rather nationalistic in its belief in America, gave editorial expression in its April issue, commending Congressman Free and thereupon it received a letter from the [REDACTED] of the Commission on International Justice and Goodwill of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America. We will let "The Chronicle" editorial, in the June issue, pages 228-229, commenting on [REDACTED] letter and their answer, tell the rest of the story.

....

[REDACTED] SPEAKS.

"We have recently received a letter from [REDACTED] from which we quote in part: 'Your editorial of April, 1927 (page 170) seems to commend Congressman Free's attack on the Federal Council. I am wondering if in your opinion the Federal Council is in fact 'attempting to take charge of the affairs of the civil government' and does 'go into national and international politics as spokesman for them (the churches) on matters not of a religious or moral character'? As Secretary of the Commission on International Justice and Goodwill, I am much interested in this matter. I am certain we much need to know if what this Commission is doing is indeed to mix up in matters that are 'not of a religious or moral character'. If indeed it is, we certainly should mend our ways.'"

"It is exactly because the statesmen and big business men have so generally been interested in political and business interests and not the great ideals and programs of the Kingdom of God on Earth, in justice and truth and righteousness between nations and races, that many of us in the rank and file of the churches (we who have to do the fighting when war comes and who see that war is everything Jesus came to abolish) feel that we can no longer leave these matters exclusively to politicians and business men. We could hardly bungle the matters worse than they have. We must ourselves find ways to get both Government and business to put into actual practice the ideals and the principles of Jesus. This is the most urgent matter before the nation. The time is short. The churches begin to see that unless their program is adopted fairly soon, the end of the so-called 'civilized' and 'Christian' nations is not very far off. The wages of sin is death for nations no less than for individuals. It is the business of the church to put on the spot among nations as well as among individuals."

"THE CHRONICLE ANSWERS.

"In reading [REDACTED] interesting letter we note the contradiction between his first and last paragraphs. In the whether the Church Council is 'attempting to take charge of

W. B. O' M.

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BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION	
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DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE	
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civil government', and in the latter practically acknowledges that the Council cannot leave international matters exclusively to politicians and business men. In other words, his so-called 'rank and file' has arrogated to itself the role of advising the government and the business world what they should not do. At first [redacted] may have taken the humble position of liaison officer between the public and the politicians, but he now appears to be sitting in the seats of the mighty and not only advising what those in authority can do, but also what the clergy should hand out in the way of 'inspiration'. [redacted] part of the Federal Council's activities appears to be a three-sided kind of propaganda, bringing pressure to bear upon the state, upon the business world, and upon the church. b7C

"So much for the inconsistencies of [redacted] letter. Besides these he gives a one-sided picture of the business world. In regard to this statement we might ask if the oil promotion in Mexico has been without some benefit to that country. The novel called *Tampico* by the novelist Hergenhimer gives a sinister picture of the bribery, corruption, and assassination rampant in those oil fields. But as a matter of fact, would the Mexican government care to put these organizations out of business? Or take another case, China would not have been open to modern ideas if the peaceful penetration of trade had not taken place. There has doubtless been some 'squeezing' among the Chinese provincial governors. But against this should be put such benefactions as the Rockefeller Medical Unit at Peking. Furthermore, the missionaries, like the Federal Council itself, have been partially supported by men who engage in international investments. b7C

"In other words, the world seems run under a kind of dualism of good and evil, and evil cannot be entirely done away with. As Huxley once said, evil is the mud on the wheels of civilization; if there is no mud there is no traffic. This does not mean that evil should be done in order that good should abound, but that incidental evils occur under all forms of progress. So

to vilify an attack on international bankers as starting the World War is rather far-fetched. International trade is a matter of the most importance and anything done to disturb that balance means direct and immediate harm to the bankers.

If this is the implicit question as to who started the world war. Many answers have been given. It was said that Germany sought a place in the sun because of its teeming population; that Great Britain was anxious to go in, in order to destroy German trade; or that Italy finally went in for what she could get out of it. Now an attack on special interests or any one sector of civilized society is a very one-sided attack. War is a hydra-headed monster and its causes like the causes of cancer are still far to seek. However, we still hold that the churches may do some work in the way of 'inspiration' and moral restraint but we do not think that they should engage directly in politics nor in attempts to determine international relations."

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Mr. J. E. Hoover,
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Dept. of Justice -Washington, D. C.

Personal

COMMUNISTS OPENLY AVOW
TREASONABLE PLANS -

(COMPILED BY [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] CHICAGO, ILL.,
JUNE 22ND, 1927)

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b7C
JUN 25 1927 A. M.
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The three following quotations are from a single issue of The Daily Worker.

J. Louis Engdahl, one of the editors of The Daily Worker, in a letter from Moscow printed in The Daily Worker of June 13, 1927, (page 1) refers to The Daily Worker as "the Central Organ of our American Communist party". That means that its declarations are official, from the Communist standpoint.

The following quotations show clearly and unmistakably that the Communist organization is operating through its divisions in the several countries of the world in strict accord with the Leninistic program to turn any war involving any of the so-called capitalist countries into a civil war:

IN THE UNITED STATES

Beneath a cut of a photograph showing a review of the Red Army before the tomb of Lenin in the Red Square, Moscow, appear a few lines eulogizing the Red Army and then this sentence:

"And if the soldiers of the Red Army need more defenders against the [REDACTED] and their like there are thousands of American workers that will fight for them." (Daily Worker, June 14, 1927, page 3)

The [REDACTED] referred to above is a reference to [REDACTED] the London, England, correspondent of the New York Times to whom The Daily Worker refers as one "who acts as press agent and editorial writer for the Baldwin government of forgery". (Daily Worker, June 14, 1927, page 4.)

IN GREAT BRITAIN

In an editorial entitled "Pilsudski's Guilt Now Evident" in which the Communist editors aver that the shooting of Voikoff was the direct result of British plotting carried out through Polish officials, appears the following sentence:

"If the command is given to crush the fascist agents of Baldwin and Chamberlain these criminals will not only face the avenging hosts of revolution on foreign soil, but will have to reckon with their own revolutionary forces at home who will take advantage of the crisis to fan the flames of revolt in the 'mother' country." (Daily Worker, June 14, 1927, page 4.)

THROUGHOUT THE WORLD

The above quotation indicates clearly the plans along which the Communists are working and the objectives they seek in the United States and in Great Britain.

The following quotation shows that they are working along identical plans and for identical objectives in every country of the world. The quotation is from an editorial entitled, "Another Paid Liar of The New York Times" and the final paragraph in the editorial reads as follows:

"From the safety of his London room, [REDACTED] and his ilk can hurl maledictions against the revolution in Russia, but let them dare try to turn their words into action and they will find not only an

invincible Red Army to smash any force his masters can hurl against the revolution, but thousands upon thousands of class-conscious and revolutionary workers in the capitalist countries who will do all in their power to cripple any army sent against the Soviet Union." (Daily Worker, June 14, 1927, page 4.)

Kindly note again that all of these quotations are from one edition of what is declared to be the "Central Organ" of the Communists in the United States. Note further that it is the edition appearing on Flag Day in the United States.

AIDING AND ABETTING COMMUNISTS' PROGRAM

It might not be amiss to point out in connection with the above quotations that the pacifists, pinks and yellows clamoring for disarmament are also doing "all in their power to cripple any army" except the Red army.

It also may not be amiss to point out that a complement to this program, likewise aiding and abetting the general Communist program, is being carried out by those who for the sake of their own financial profit advance credits to the Soviet heads, who assist these same Soviet heads in establishing "colonies" that Kalinin says Strengthen and build up the Soviet resources, and those who for the sake of profit to themselves are developing "concessions" in the USSR. The official Soviet report shows 144 such concessions, residents of Germany leading with 40, residents of England ranking second with 22, residents of the United States ranking third with 15, residents of France ranking fourth with 5 and the balance being distributed among the residents of various countries.

This bulletin is not confidential.

Respectfully submitted,

(Signed) _____

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RECEIVED IT'S OF INTEREST 38957
COMPILED BY H. A. JUNG,
JUNE 21ST, 1927.

"The Dearborn Independent" of June 12 contains an editorial on page 11, captioned "The Minority Rules". This editorial chronicles a few instances of minorities which eventually were responsible for great upheavals. It is well worth reading.

The American Civil Liberties Bulletin #225 dated June 12, contains an item captioned "Y.U.C.A. Rescued from Radicalism". It states that [redacted] and [redacted], Y.U.C.A. [redacted] at Fort Wayne, Indiana, have resigned their positions because of continued public attacks on account of their membership in the Fellowship of Reconciliation. This is merely another indication of the close relationship between the Fellowship of Reconciliation and the American Civil Liberties Union. b7C

"The Christian Century" of June 23, strange as it may seem, contains an editorial on page 772 on the subject of the Y.U.C.A. secretaries' resignations at Fort Wayne, Indiana. In this they state that some village detective discovered that the secretaries were members of the Fellowship of Reconciliation and continues laudatory of the Fellowship as a group of earnest Christians and denying any connection with Moscow. The same issue of "The Christian Century" contains an editorial on page 774, captioned "Will the Students Leave the Y.U.C.A.?" There seems to be some discussion between the student department of the Y.U.C.A. and the general movement which is rapidly approaching an open break.

A personal analysis leads us to believe that the student department finds the conventional policy of the Y.U.C.A. too restrictive for their liberal ideas. According to this editorial there is a possibility that the student department may break off their relations with the "Y" and form an independent body. Possibly it would be a good idea if this liberal student element of the Y.U.C.A. did segregate itself from the parent organization. If this happens it would probably remove much of the radicalism which has been increasingly exhibited in recent years in the parent body.

The "New York Times" for Sunday, June 12, on page 13 of the magazine section, contains an article "New Magic for Old Russian Miracles" by Anna Louise Strong. This article is identical with most of the writings of Miss Strong, being pro-Soviet in character. It is too bad to find this type of literature appearing in the "New York Times" as it is nothing more nor less than propaganda.

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W. B. O' M.

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MEMORANDUM ON THE FIFTY-FOURTH
ANNUAL NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF
SOCIAL WORK HELD AT DES MOINES,
IOWA, MAY 11TH TO 18TH, 1927.
COMPILED BY H. A. JUNG -
JUNE 25TH, 1927.

The National Conference of Social Work is an institution that has been producing admirable results in the field of social work. There is no question as to the amount of good resulting from the activities of social workers in bettering the conditions of immigrants, the poor and more illiterate of the peoples of the United States and the various other branches which their work deals with. There are many notable characters whose names are revered for their efforts along these lines. The most unfortunate part of it is that such a meritorious organization should number amongst its members a few people who have won for themselves a reputation as extreme pacifists, ultra-liberals, pinks, and even reds. These people with their internationalism, pacifism and doctrines so closely allied with the program of Communism that they are difficult to distinguish, must certainly have a more or less harmful influence over other social workers, who, though they may be sound on the subject of Americanism, are young and their minds are open and receptive for the free and easy principles which are included in pacifism and internationalism.

Amongst those taking part in this Conference who are known for their radical leanings are Dr. John A. Lapp, president of the Conference; [redacted] who was a member of the [redacted] "unofficial" delegation to Russia; [redacted] of the Children's Bureau at Washington; Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver of Cleveland who has recently been elected as a national committeeman of the American Civil Liberties Union; Miss Jane Addams whose international and radical connections have been exposed time and again; [redacted] connected with the California branch of the American Civil Liberties Union representing the New York School of Social Work, New York City, at the Conference; [redacted] of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America; Bishop Francis J. McConnell, Pittsburgh; Florence J. Kelley of the National Consumers' League, well known for her connection with Marx and Engels as the translator of their works into English; [redacted] long an associate of Miss Jane Addams in the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom; [redacted] who has written several books which are advertised and sold by the American Civil Liberties Union; [redacted] of the radical publication "The Survey" exposed in the Lusk Report; [redacted] and [redacted] of the National Child Labor Committee.

The session was opened on May 11, at 8 P.M. at the Shrine Temple, with an address "Justice First" by Dr. John A. Lapp, president of the Conference, in which he stated: "When American citizens challenge the right of government regulation they are bringing about a state of anarchy."

"The concomitant doctrine of the survival of the fittest in the social order is the laissez-faire doctrine in politics," Dr. Lapp said. "This is carried so far as to challenge the right of government regulation of almost anything or anyone. There is more individualistic - not to say anarchistic - cant than in any previous time in this country."

"Justice must come first in the program of social work, he declared. Charity discovers needs, and points the way to justice. That which we care for out of charity today is prevented or provided for through systems of justice tomorrow, he said." (Des Moines Register of May 12, 1927.)

Dr. Lapp was followed by [redacted] upon his return from Russia last fall with the [redacted] "unofficial" delegation, followed the example of his fellow delegates and toured the country propagandizing

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for Soviet Russia. He stated in his talk that the social workers were the advance guard of the world that is to be and if the time comes when political service is rendered in the spirit in which social service is rendered, then only will the challenge of democracy have been answered. He also spoke on bolshevism and fascism stating that while they were opposite in their economic purpose they were nearly identical in their political methods as they both denied liberty as an evil, were both dictatorships by a minority and both suppress liberty of free speech and of the press. He further stated:

"For America the peril is not bolshevism. It is a disguised fascism, parading as Americanism. The world which we were to make safe for democracy is in a large part already given up to regimes hostile to democracy. Democracy, as never before, is on the defensive."

"Decrying the indifference of the American people, the speaker asserted that fully one-half of the people do not vote and that the automobile, the omnipresent newspaper, the radio and the movie now compete for attention of the people and that they are winning the competition, he said." (Des Moines Register of May 12, 1927.)

[redacted] an associate of Judge Lindsey in his juvenile and family court in Denver, defended Judge Lindsey and the policies which he advocates, outlining them as follows: b7C

"1. Separate and independent economic status for wives and husbands. The wife's fortune or dowry ought not to be merged with the financial resources of the husband. The husband's patrimony or income should not be pooled with the wife's assets. Poker winnings of the husband, in other words, and gleanings of the wife from bridge, as well as losses incidental to both avocations, are to be entered in separate ledgers. Hubby's pants pockets shall be inviolate.

"2. Bigger, better and wider dissemination of information concerning conception and contraceptives. Distribution by mail of information regarding birth control is forbidden in the so-called 'obscenity' statutes of the federal code.

"Judge Lindsey believes married folks, just married folks, should be able to get this information from their family physicians. He believes the information concerning safe and sane methods of contraception should be given the ignorant, the penniless, and the mentally and physically underprivileged.

"3. Persons legally married, but without offspring, may be released from the undesired conjugium by mutual consent - without the necessity of a decree of court." (Des Moines Register of May 10, 1927.)

Dr. Lapp in an unofficial statement said: "We make murderers of men when we have capital punishment. Grover Cleveland has always seemed repulsive to me because at one time in his life he was a hangman. Life imprisonment is indeed sufficient. The matter of parole and pardon is over-exerted for political purposes. Opposing parties use it as a weapon to scare the governors. It is a convenient tool and it serves its purpose." b7C

[redacted] denounced the present farm practices stating that children were being overworked on farms and that "a survey showed 13,000 children under 16 years of age engaged in full-time farm duties missed several weeks of school each year and that more than half of these children kept out of school were retarded from one to six grades as a result of the compulsory absence." (Des Moines Register of May 13, 1927.) b7C

[redacted] unburdened himself on the immigration question as follows: b7C

"We are told that all our problems from the crime wave to the price of coal are due to immigration, yet all of us, with the exception of a few thousands Americans are either immigrants or descendants of immigrants," Bruno Lasker of New York City, secretary of the Commission on Race and Nationality Relations, stated this afternoon in addressing the National Conference of Travelers Aid societies, meeting at the Chamberlain hotel.

"There is apt to be apprehension, a sense of unease, even of acute antagonism, on the part of those groups in the community that will feel

directly the new competition, whether it be for jobs or homes, he pointed out. But with smaller numbers, there will be more friendliness and more willingness to aid in giving the newcomers every opportunity to become quickly assimilated, [redacted] added. b7C

"This is very noticeable in the present attitude of the west toward Japanese. Many of those who had been foremost in denouncing them as unfitted to become citizens were eager to cooperate with others in improving conditions for those Japanese who were already in the country and likely to stay as soon as the exclusion law was passed," [redacted] said. b7C

"Too often, when the immigrant passed our immigration law, he becomes a public care because it has not been the business of anyone to find for him a proper place in the vocational life of America, the immigration expert declared. He is permitted to drift from one job to another, never happening to get into a position exactly corresponding to his talents and desires. Proper vocational guidance would aid this problem. Only a start has been made in this country to install a nation-wide system of vocational guidance and placement, while many other countries have employed this system extensively, he said." (Des Moines Tribune of May 12, 1927.)

[redacted] of the Peoples' Reconstruction League and closely allied with radical programs, is a former graduate of Grinnell College. Taking advantage of the social conference, [redacted] went to Des Moines to hold a mass meeting to halt the "Coolidge-Kellogg imperialism" by a united popular protest and declared that the Des Moines mass meeting would be one of a chain of protest meetings from Boston to Los Angeles and would adopt a three-fold slogan: "Withdraw the marines from Nicaragua!" - "Keep out of Mexico!" - "Hands off China!" b7C

"Imperialism, [redacted] averred, is linked closely to the unfair exploitation of most Americans by a few who roll in wealth.

"Of the 145 oil companies in Mexico for whose ostensible protection Kellogg has interfered south of the Rio Grande," said [redacted] who is [redacted] of the Peoples' Reconstruction League and [redacted] of the Farmers National Council, 'all except 20 have complied without fuss to the Mexican laws which irritated the small minority so much. b7C

"But this minority of twenty companies is owned and controlled, to the extent of 87 per cent, by Andrew Mellon, the secretary of the treasury; [redacted] and [redacted]. It is for the protection of their profits that Kellogg would embroil us with Mexico." b7C

"Until agriculture is on a parity in the United States with industry, he asserted, Uncle Sam should attend to his knitting and leave Nicaragua and China alone.

"Mass production of manufactures, the installment system of buying, enormous loans to foreign nations, and vast natural resources of many kinds," said [redacted] in an interview last night, 'have combined to make the United States the world's greatest industrialist nation, and that leads to economic imperialism. b7C

"As an industrialist nation, the United States needs to secure cheap raw materials and resources we do not have. That leads to grabbing natural resources.

"We have untaxed the rich and permitted exploitation of farmers and wage earners till, in 1925, less than 700 persons had 1 per cent of the net national income, and 1 per cent of the people own 59 per cent of the national wealth, and have most of the capital savings of about six billion dollars a year. That means financial imperialism.

"The world war embarked the United States on unlimited imperialism and industrialism and imperialism have sealed the doom of American agriculture as now conducted.

"It is useless to decry war as long as we permit causes of war to exist.

"To prevent war with other nations the United States must:

"Tax privilege more and poverty less; reduce tariffs and insure more freedom of exchange of goods; investigate concessions Americans have obtained abroad, and repudiate unfair ones; work out through an international conference, an international allocation of natural resources; stop trying to run the internal affairs of small nations; change our foreign policy from one of exploitation to one of cooperation."

██████████ will confer today with persons and organizations opposed to 'imperialism and militarism', he said yesterday, including labor leaders and ██████████ b7C
(Des Moines Register of May 19, 1927.)

Jane Addams stated that she "believes the subject of international relations should be of first interest to every American."

"People shy at the term 'international,' she said. 'It makes no difference what we call it. Whether they are good or bad the United States must have relations with other nations. It goes without saying that the effort should be toward bringing all nations to a better understanding of one another. Some mediums which have been suggested for this purpose have proven beneficial. Others have been failures. Still we have the problem and men and women everywhere should be thinking about it."

"It is true that moral standards are changing and being changed," says Miss Addams. "Standards of every sort are continually shifting. No condition is so dangerous as the lack of change. I believe it is a tribute to the youth of today that they do not accept as maxims and precepts what they are told but do experimenting and reach conclusions independently."

"There are bad phases of what is known as 'modern freedom', but I believe the young people will learn to discard what proves to be unwholesome." (Des Moines Register of May 16, 1927.)

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver told the conference in one of the sessions that the churches must rededicate themselves to the traditional task of battling for economic justice for the masses.

"The Church of today, he asserted, is properly 'shifting its center of emotional gravity from the heavens which belong to God, to the earth which God gave to the children of men; from the realm of human conjecture and imagination to the realm of reality, where men live and toil and suffer and struggle for a bit of happiness.'"

"He warned that the Church 'must not remain content to speak of social justice in the abstract. The church is not an academy for speculative sciences. It is a dynamic agency equipped for social reconstruction. It must enter the arena of life and do battle for its sanctities.'"

"In the face of economic conditions by which, he said, untold millions of humans are damaged and broken, 'the church cannot, dare not remain silent. It must cry aloud. It must lift up its voice like a trumpet to declare unto the people their transgressions. Else its vision is a lying vision and its ritual an abomination.'"

"The church has been a compassionate mother, he said, but now 'it must do more. It must not wait until the flotsam and jetsam of social wreckage come drifting to its doors. It must anticipate disaster. It must labor for a social reconstruction which will afford all men a better chance of security and happiness."

"The church must summon its adherents to a close scrutiny of social ills. It must stimulate research and inquiry into their possible remedies. It must place the responsibility for ameliorating these conditions squarely upon the shoulders of its devotees."

"It must call for a condition of society in which man will at all times be primary, and the satisfaction of legitimate needs superior to profit or the accumulation of wealth, in which rewards will be commensurate with service, and in which none shall partake of social goods who does not contribute to the social weal."

"It must organize the religious consciousness of the world and the mighty hosts of the faithful for strategic action at decisive moments."

"Rabbi Silver demanded that the church be 'feared and revered for its dauntless proclamation of truth'.

"It must rise above the state," he said, "not in the sense of endeavoring to master it, or to control its political fortunes, but it dare not be the lackey of the state. It must rise above the prevalent economic system, not in the sense of seeking to substitute another system for it, but in the sense of emancipating itself from an alliance which might compel it to play the role of defender or apologist."

"Said he, 'the church has often been intrigued into casting the mantle of its sanctity over the corruption of an unjust society.'

"In the last war, he said, 'Every warring nation was the lackey of the state, sprinkling the oil of sanctity on the cannon, the defender and apologist of the social order.'

"As religions lose the fires of their youth, Rabbi Silver said, they become 'institutionalized. Hierarchy and vested interests appear. The church becomes an end in itself. When its interests are at stake it will compromise and yield and oftentimes betray men in their direst needs.'

"It is difficult, he said, 'to be a voice - clear and courageous - crying for justice amid the pomp and splendor and costliness of a temple or a cathedral, which is built and supported by the generosity of those who must often become the very target of the voice's invective.

"But the church must do just that. It must deliberately choose the 'via dolorosa' - the hard road of conflict and persecution. Else it will become a tragic futility in modern life. Thoughtful men will turn from it and will seek their light and leading elsewhere, and the youth of the world will come to regard it as a mere survival, an anachronism, interesting but irrelevant." (Des Moines Register of May 16, 1927.)

"A new order of policemen is advocated by Miss Jane Addams of Hull House, Chicago.

"Miss Addams explained today that policemen of Chicago and other large centers should fight the crime wave with tact and not a gun. In fact, Miss Addams would have the city police force unarmed save for a wrist watch, a few good books and a number of kind words.

"Youth to her is nothing to be worried and fretful about. The young girls may smoke if they choose and it's no one's business, Miss Addams declared, but by her own confession she declared that she was not a smoker.

"As for putting religion ahead of social work she explained that she did not think the proposition needed to be discussed. Both, she pointed out, are necessary but that social work ranked the highest in her own estimation.

"When questioned about the attack made on her by some of the American Legion members she declined to talk.

"Her only comment was: 'There are many nice young boys in the organization and I have a number of friends, who are connected prominently with the work.'

"And the much lionized Miss Addams then concluded her interview with a demand that women be given the same rights as men whether it be in the professional world or the kitchen. A standard pay for standard work, was her urge." (Des Moines Tribune of May 16, 1927.)

"Miss Addams spoke jubilantly about the fact that Czecho-Slovakia, a new and forward looking republic, established a legation at Washington with no military attache, but a social worker attache instead.

"That would naturally please me," said Miss Addams, who is a famed pacifist.

"Miss Addams told of the birth of social work in England, crediting it to an Oxford man and a group of college contemporaries who interested themselves in the poor of East London.

"Before they were through," she said, "they had forced journalists, politicians and writers to recognize that they must be familiar with the problems of the poor and work for their alleviation, or they would be crowded out of their callings by men who recognized their duty in this regard."

"Here in America, we take our democracy too much for granted. Our journalists and politicians, too, must learn the lesson this Oxford man taught England." (Des Moines Register of May 17, 1927.)

"Immigration problems gain [redacted] attention more than any of the myriad perplexities which confront the social worker."

"She believes in immigrant limitation, but denounces the movement toward quick Americanization. 'It is wrong to Americanize foreign peoples with rapidity and to the extent that they forget the traditions of their homelands,' [redacted] asserted. b7C

"With other immigration workers, [redacted] will ask the next congress to forget the quota restrictions long enough to allow more than 169,000 central Europeans to come into this country to complete their family circles, she disclosed."

"A few of the highlights obtained in an interview with the internationally known social workers follow:

"America needs the League of Nations and the World Court; they can get along without us, we cannot get along without them."

"We should come to an intelligent understanding on the racial question. The Negro question is ours; we can solve it if we are tolerant and more friendly."

"Chicago is democracy in the process. It is both brutal and merciful; ignorant and cultured."

"Democracy and intolerance are not synonymous."

"The crime rate among American born peoples of foreign parentage is much lower than the corresponding generation of Americans."

"War can be prevented. International friendliness will solve the conflict problem."

"England doesn't hate America; neither does France or Italy. Remember, America did not stand by in the reconstruction." (Des Moines Tribune of May 18, 1927.)

"Miss Addams, who spoke this noon on the subject of 'The Social Consequences of the Immigration Law,' declared that present restrictions 'had worked harmfully in a great many cases."

"Uncle Sam is often a home-wrecker," she declared, and went on to point out that often, because of immigration restrictions, wives in foreign countries were kept from joining their husbands in the United States."

"Restrictions applied at the point of embarkation are helping to clear up the problem," the speaker said and declared that she 'did not advocate any radical changes in the present immigration law, but favored, rather, a humanizing of the whole system.'" (Des Moines Tribune of May 18, 1927.)

"Led by Jane Addams and [redacted] pioneer settlement workers b7C of Chicago, the social groups will ask congress next winter to give preference during the next two years to the wives and children of foreigners who were admitted to this country prior to July 1, 1923, and have established themselves here."

"It is estimated that the number of wives and children in Europe awaiting their turn under the quota act is approximately 175,000."

"A committee, [redacted] which initiated the immigration b7C modification movement, declared in its report that 'by permitting a law to remain upon our statute books which caused misery, endangered suspicion and retarded assimilation without attempts to correct the wrongs, problems were created which were likely to be far-reaching in their social effects upon the community life of America'. The change suggested would constitute an act of primary justice." (Des Moines Post of May 19, 1927.)

"Jane Addams' denunciation of the immigration laws - if Miss Addams can ever be said to denounce - is exactly the complaint Charles Nagel had to make when he spoke here a week or so ago. Mr. Nagel, who was secretary of commerce

and labor in the Taft cabinet, and in charge of our pre-war immigration administration, told how it took a great deal of his time to make the law work equally and justly, and to prevent it being just what Miss Addams says it is now, a wrecker of families.

"Our immigration policy now is of the hard boiled kind. It excludes everyone above a certain number from any country, and occasionally the bar is put up when only half a family is through the gate. Many wrongs result.

"Those who determine our immigration policy look at it on the large side. They see immigrants as groups. But the injustices and the inequalities come to the individual and the family. Mr. Nagel before and Miss Addams the other day gave case after case where children had been separated from parents and serious harm had resulted, chiefly from the lack of parental care. Mr. Nagel told how two children with the measles had been taken from their mother at Ellis Island and put in a New York hospital. When the mother learned they had died there she lost her mind, and was about to be deported as insane, when she insisted that she should go to her husband, who had lived in this country several years. If she became a public charge, Mr. Nagel declared, it was a public act that made her so, and he trusted the reunion with her husband to restore her mind.

"The country cannot afford to have its official policies work the injustices and the inhumanities these speakers pointed out." (Des Moines Register of May 21, 1927.)

Under the leadership of [redacted] and Miss Addams, a temporary b7C National Council on Immigration was formed at Des Moines on May 17, 1927. This Council drew up a set of proposed provisions for improving the immigration situation in which they charge that the present immigration laws are based upon emotional prejudices and advocate that racial discrimination should not be a factor in the consideration of any future immigration policy which is identical with the Communist contention.

"As the final action of the National Conference of Social Work, a group of fifty delegates yesterday banded themselves together to work for the freedom of Anita Whitney California social worker, convicted in 1919 of being a member of the labor communist party.

"Led by Jane Addams and [redacted], pioneer social b7C workers of Chicago, the group voted to send immediately to Governor C.C. Young of California, a telegram asking pardon for Miss Whitney and to carry back to each state a request that all social workers send telegrams to the governor.

"The group met at the close of the last general session of the conference yesterday noon at Hotel Fort Des Moines. Miss Addams, who spoke on 'The Social Consequences of the Immigration Law', reviewed the Whitney case and also the Sacco and Vanzetti case now pending in Massachusetts.

"A test of American life may come right now on account of these Italians," Miss Addams said. "I cannot feel that they have had a square deal. I feel that these were tried on their race and on certain affiliations instead of on the bare bones of fact."

"She cited the famous Dreyfuss case of France as a parallel example where a whole nation never gave up and after more than ten years freed Dreyfuss. She declared the people of America believe in fairness and will be stirred to see it administered regardless of race.

"Miss Addams asked that the National Conference of Social Work will not adjourn without taking some action to aid Miss Whitney. She declared she had just received a telegram from Washington saying that the United States Supreme Court had ruled that the California criminal syndicalism law was constitutional.

"That is the last appeal for Miss Whitney. She was a social worker in good standing. No overtact was ever proved against her. She was merely technically convicted of being a member of the communist party," Miss Addams said.

"At the meeting which followed adjournment of the general session of the conference, the committee appointed Dr. John A. Lapp, Miss Addams and [redacted] b7C as a committee to see that telegrams were sent and to carry on the fight for Miss Whitney's freedom.

"California delegates brought out the fact that Miss Whitney will not ask for a pardon herself, but feels that she should sacrifice herself by serving the sentence which is indeterminate, from one to fourteen years in length.

"She was convicted in 1919 together with about 100 I.W.W. leaders under California's syndicalism law. Since that time many social groups have worked to free her. Former Governor Richardson refused a pardon but social workers yesterday were in hopes that Governor Young will heed their plea." (Des Moines Register of May 19, 1927.)

The Conference adjourned on May 18th.

* * * * *

ITEMS OF INTEREST.
COMPILED BY H.A. JUNG
JUNE 28TH, 1927.



Has it ever occurred to you that our un-American "parlor bolsheviki" of all types huzzah for nationalism for China but "cross" themselves when any of us plead for a little of it for these good old United States? queer kink of theirs isn't it, but not surprising with Moscow pulling the "monkey" string.

* * * *

E. Merrill Root, author of the poem "R.O.T.C." which appeared in the May 5th issue of "The Christian Century", is a Quaker, and professor at Earlham College, Richmond, Indiana, a Quaker institution. This poem is one of a collection written and published by Root this spring under the title of "Lost Eden".

Professor Root has contributed verse and prose to the "New Masses", "The Liberator" and "The World Tomorrow". Earlham College is a "hotbed" of pacifism and radicalism and was the meeting place of the "Students in Industry" group under the auspices of the Continuation Committee of the Evanston Conference in the fall of 1926. He is also a member of the Peace Association of Friends which is very strong in Richmond.

* * * *

The "Social Service Bulletin" of the Methodist Federation for Social Service edited by Harry F. Ward and Winifred L. Chappell, again emulates "The Daily Worker" (official organ of the Workers (Communist) Party of America). The first article in the bulletin is captioned "The Red Hunt Again" and states that the Red hunt is going again in full cry and this time is being whooped up by "militarists" and "professional patriots" who are carrying on a propaganda campaign of lying defamation of reputable citizens as an interlocking propaganda machine of the publicity bureau of the War Department. This editorial (beyond question the product of the alert brain of Harry F. Ward) continues, saying that the record of this activity is contained in three recently issued books, viz. "Professional Patriots" by Norman Hapgood; "How Red is America?" by Will Irwin; "The Story of Civil Liberty in the United States" by Leon Whipple.

In commenting on "How Red is America?" the editorial writer states: "It is a calm, condensed, and, save for a few details, accurate and understanding survey of our radical movements." (Underscoring ours.)

* * * *

That the mentality of [redacted] is on the same level as that of the Communist [redacted] "America" which appeared in the magazine section of the March 12th issue of "The Daily Worker" and for the [redacted] has been sentenced to a minimum term of thirteen months in the reformatory in New York City, is evidenced by an editorial by [redacted] appearing in the June 24th issue of the Chicago "Herald and Examiner", a Hearst paper. b7C

[redacted] states: "New York has been indulging in the luxury of trying a publisher and [redacted] for printing a poem alleging that the money power keeps America from being the land of opportunity. To take such an opinion as important enough for legal punishment seems to show a lack of confidence in us as much faith in our government as we ought to have perhaps we should laugh at such views. Laughter is the sign of real relief."

RECORDED

Div. Two

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JUN 30 1927
BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
DIVISION 2

Our comment is that any man that could laugh at such a production of literary filth is indeed a fit subject of psychiatric attention. They are commonly known as "morons" in this day and age. The action against Dunne, [REDACTED] and "The Daily Worker" was taken, not because of the attack on "capitalism", but because of the obscene interpretation of our beloved America. b7C

* * * *

Another case of misrepresentation by a well known liberal to promote the cause of subversives and pacifists by an attack upon the United States is brought to light. In the April 9th issue of "The Churchman" (radical religious weekly) appears an article by [REDACTED] captioned "[REDACTED] Thinks That Chinese Christians Will Work With Missionaries". In this article [REDACTED] ostensibly quotes [REDACTED] on the "firing on Nanking" as saying: "The nationalists considered the bombardment of Nanking a great indignity since the foreign officials had not notified the Chinese that their nationals were endangered and, furthermore, as the naval commanders had failed to notify Chinese civilians to evacuate the area prior to the firing." b7C

The June 24th issue of "The Churchman" publishes a letter from Laurence B. Ridgley, Acting Dean of the Central Theological School of Nanking, China. Dr. Ridgley in opening his letter states:

[REDACTED] in the Churchman of April 9, just received here, misstates the facts in regard to the firing of the American and British navies on Nanking, March 24, to such a degree as to vitiate his whole article and misrepresent the American navy almost slanderously." b7C

Dr. Ridgley then gives an accurate description of the actual occurrences at Nanking following which he states:

"In view of the above facts it will be seen how specious and, in fact, ridiculous is the high-sounding 'remark' made by General Chang Kai-shek and quoted by [REDACTED] that 'the foreign officials had not notified the Chinese that their nationals were endangered.'" b7C

Dr. Ridgley, a man on the scene who knows what took place, tears [REDACTED] article to pieces and labels him for what he is in forceful terms. It is indeed a pleasure to know that we have missionaries in the field who are honestly "Americans" and who are not afraid to challenge the "lies" of propagandists such as [REDACTED]

* * * *

"The Nation" of June 29, 1927, contains an article on page 723 captioned "The Dutch War Resisters" by Roger Baldwin, notorious American Civil Liberties Union director, conscientious objector and slacker who is now touring Europe as a representative of another Communist propaganda agency, "The International Committee for Political Prisoners". In this article Baldwin lauds the Dutch war resisters and the fine type of "manhood" being bred by them.

* * * *

The Union Theological Seminary of New York City has a record for turning out "liberal" candidates for Christian leaders of the masses. That some of our most prominent propagandists for Communism and Socialism are graduates from this institution is an undeniable fact. The regrettable part is that these propagandists carry on their work under the "cloak of religion" thus contaminating religious fields.

A very interesting article appearing on page 23 of the June 25th issue of "The Churchman" captioned "Clergy Makes Visits to Radical Centres" states that fifty ministers attending the sixth annual conference on the Church in City and Industrial Communities at Union Theological Seminary, were taken on a tour of the radical centers in N.Y. by Prof. Gaylord White of the seminary. This group visited Anarchists Hall, 219 Second Avenue, where they listened to [REDACTED] speak on b7C

"The Philosophy and Ideals of the Anarchists"; Workers (Communist) Party headquarters at 108 E. Fourteenth Street, where they heard [redacted] attack capitalistic governments and define Communism; Rand School where Norman Thomas was heard in a discourse on Socialism; and wound up at the I.W.W. headquarters, 113 E. Fourteenth Street, where [redacted] told the churchmen of the ideals and hopes of the I.W.W. The tour was no doubt productive of more converts for the radical cause. b7C

* * * *

The success of the Communist (Third) International in carrying out their foreign policy of disarming other countries while they build the military strength of the Soviet Union is clearly shown in the subjoined articles from the Chicago "Tribune" of June 27th:

No. 1. "Drop Defense Day: Victory for Pacifists. Pacifist opposition to the War Department plan of annually testing the preparedness of the nation by holding a Defense Day Test during which the citizen army of the nation is mobilized for inspection, has apparently been successful. Twice, once in 1924 and again in 1925, defense tests were held despite the opposition of organizations such as the National Council for Prevention of War, but last year the plans for a third test were abandoned. This year the holding of a defense test has not even been discussed seriously and War Department officials say that no test will be held."

No. 2. "Russia Rallies Youth to Train for Day of War. A campaign is on foot throughout the Soviet Union for the promotion of military preparedness in the face of recent developments, which are regarded as threats of war. The period from July 10 to July 17 has been designated as 'Defense Week' toward the success of which all efforts are being directed. Military sports are being advocated as a means to awaken the enthusiasm of the youth of the country and the heads of unions are exhorting their members to rally around Ossoaviackiet, Russia's greatest voluntary martial organization." (Underscoring ours.)

Frederick J. Libby, executive secretary of the National Council for Prevention of War which holds forth at the nation's capital, admits himself an advocate of Soviet Russia. One can see his handiwork in the successful efforts of his beloved pacifists as explained in the first article.

* * * *

Further proof of the necessity for preparedness on the part of the United States is contained in a warning issued by Major General William Lassiter at Milwaukee, Wisconsin, on June 23, which was reported in the "New York Times" of June 24, excerpts from which are as follows:

"Declaring that the forces which caused the World War were more active today than they were in 1914, Major General William Lassiter, Commander of the Sixth Army Corps Area, asserted here last night that the time was almost sure to come when people of the United States would again be tested in war. . . . Fresh from a first-hand study of conditions in foreign countries, he expressed the belief that economic pressure throughout the world was working toward conflict and that the United States must be ready to defend itself. 'Life nowadays is like living in a high explosive factory,' he said. 'From what I have seen abroad and from what I know of world conditions, I am of the opinion that an explosion is almost sure to come.'"

* * * *

(COPY)

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Chicago, Ill.
June 10, 1927.



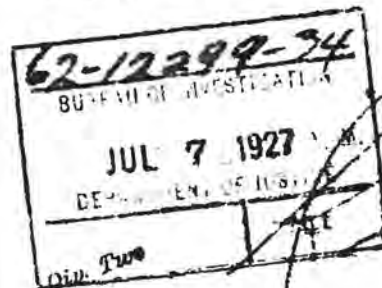
Dear Comrade;

The argument now being made by the Lovestone group, especially emphasized by Comrade Bedacht, is that Comrade Foster is not a Marxian, is not a Communist.

The enclosed is the first part of a speech made by Comrade Bittleman to a group of Comrades in Chicago refuting these serious charges made by Comrade Bedacht.

In a few days we will send you the concluding part of his speech.

(Jung)



JUL 7 - 1927

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**AN ANSWER TO BEDACHT'S CHARGE THAT FOSTER
IS NON-MARXIAN, THAT HE IS NOT A COMMUNIST**

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I think it was two or three weeks ago that the Lovestone group held a caucus meeting in Chicago, and at that meeting Comrade Bedacht made a speech on the present party situation. According to reports Comrade Bedacht says that Comrade Foster is not a Marxian, that Comrade Foster is not a Communist.

When we learned this we were quite anxious to find out whether it were true or not, — that is, whether Comrade Bedacht really said that. So Comrade [redacted] and myself went to see Comrade Bedacht and asked him point blank whether he really said that. He denied having said that Comrade Foster was not a Communist, but he admitted in the private talk with us and later officially in the Palace, — he admitted again, that he had said that Comrade Foster was not a Marxian. b7C

Now, comrades, to make a charge of this nature, against one of the outstanding men in our Party is no small matter. Why is this so? Many of our rank and file may not be conscious Marxians — that is not only possible but a fact. But when we deal with a leader of our Party it becomes an entirely different proposition. I maintain that to say that a leader of a Communist Party is not a Marxian is the same as to say he is not a Communist. A Communist, a Leninist, cannot be non-Marxian, and a non-Marxian cannot be a Communist. Hence, whether Comrade Bedacht actually said that Comrade Foster was not a Communist or not, once he admits that he charged Comrade Foster with not being a Marxian, by this very thing he had made a charge that Comrade Foster is not a Communist.

WHAT IS THE TEST OF A MARXIAN PARTY AND A MARXIAN LEADER?

The purpose of the speech I am going to make here is to deal with this question — How do we test a party for Marxian? How do we find out whether a party is Marxian or not, and how do we find out whether party leaders are Marxians or not?

Now, comrades, I do not believe in the habit of Comrade Bedacht of keeping one's Marxist knowledge a secret. I think a Communist leader is in duty bound to educate the Party to Marxian conceptions, give it a Marxian education. And I maintain that Comrade Bedacht who said in his caucus that Comrade Foster is not a Marxian, was in duty bound to tell that to the Party, not by merely making a charge but by proving what is Marxian and how you tell whether one is Marxian or not.

I propose today to deal with the question: — What are the essentials of Marxism? Then by citing actual party experiences and party developments I will try to examine who is a Marxian and who is not, in the Workers Communist Party.

Now, on the first question, what is the test for a Marxian Party, and what is the test for a Marxian leader?

I am going to quote from Comrade Lenin, who, I believe is a safe authority, and I will quote the following of what Lenin said about how we can test a Party or a leader for Marxian:

"Upon what rests the discipline of the revolutionary party of the proletariat? HOW IS IT TESTED? How is it reinforced, strengthened? Firstly, by the consciousness of the proletarian vanguard and by its devotion to the revolution, by its steadiness, spirit of self-sacrifice and heroism. Secondly, by its ability to mix with the toiling masses, to become intimate with and to a certain extent fuse itself with the proletarian masses primarily, but also with non-proletarian toilers. Thirdly, by the soundness of the political leadership. Without all these conditions, discipline

in a revolutionary party, really capable of being a party of the advanced class whose object is to overthrow the bourgeoisie, is impossible of realization." ("Infantile Sickness of 'Leftism'").

Now, I say I am willing and ready to test our party, to test the party groupings, and to test the party leadership for Marxism, on the basis of the conditions that Comrade Lenin outlines in this quotation:

I maintain, comrades, that Marxism is not something you study in a book and once you have completed reading that book you have mastered Marxism. Marxism is a dogma, Marxism is not a bible, Marxism is not a religion. Marxism is a weapon in the hands of a revolutionary party which is composed primarily of workers and enriched by the every day experience of that party in the actual class struggle.

In order to carry out this examination, I propose to deal with four or five essential qualifications of a Marxist and of a Marxist party. And again I will base myself mainly on Lenin and what Lenin had to say.

One of the chief qualifications of a Marxist and of a Marxist party according to Lenin, is the ability to find ALLIES for the carrying on of the great struggle against the main enemy of the working class at any particular moment and here is what Lenin says:

"To overcome a more potent enemy is possible only through the greatest effort, and by dint of the obligatory, thorough, careful attention and skillful utilization of every 'breach' however small between the enemies, of every clash of interests between the bourgeoisie of all countries, between various groups and species of the bourgeoisie within separate countries, of gaining an ally even though it be a temporary, shaky, unstable, unreliable and conditional one. Who has not grasped this has failed to grasp one iota of Marxism, and of scientific, modern, 'civilized' socialism IN GENERAL. Whoever has failed to prove IN PRACTICE, throughout a pretty considerable period of time, and in sufficiently varied political situations, his ability to apply this truth IN FACT, has not yet learned to aid the revolutionary class in its struggle." ("Infantile Sickness").

In other words, one of the essentials of a Marxist is that he must be able in leading the struggles of the masses and of the party to find ALLIES, sympathizers, supporters, to make use of all the differences in the ranks of the enemy in order to concentrate and to defeat the main enemy that confronts the working class.

I propose to review from this angle and from this point of view the records and experiences of the Foster group in the party and the present Lovestone group in the party. I will take the Foster group and then the others. Between 1921 and 1923 the Foster group, which was not yet then a definite group, consistently and systematically built united fronts progressives, first in the Chicago Federation of Labor and later throughout the country. In those years from 1921 to July 1923, the main efforts of Foster and his group were directed towards one central aim and that central aim was to build up allies and sympathizers for the communists and for the left wing. This aim of finding these progressive allies, of discovering them first then uniting with them for joint struggle, this was the central aim of Foster and his group between 1921 and July 1923, which was successfully carried out. The first mass contact that our party had, the first really big campaign that we carried through in the farmer-labor movement ~~known~~ possible, by that time, mainly through the efforts of our group which established close connections with the progressives in Chicago and in various other cities. The T.U.L.U. was growing and expanding. The basis was laid for our united front actions in the Farmer-Labor Movement. The Convention of July 1923 became possible.

What did the Lovestone group do between 1921 and July 1923? At that time it was not exactly the Lovestone group, it was the ~~the~~ Rathenbergs-Lovestone group. What did the Lovestone group do in those years? I will try to

tell you what they did. This will contain no new discoveries, but things that every party member can recall easily.

The Lovestons group consistently and systematically attacked Foster and his closest collaborators and for not criticizing sharply enough the progressives and for being "too close" to the progressives. They criticized Foster for not bringing in enough political issues in the industrial work. I wonder how many of you remember the Miners convention in Pittsburgh in 1933. Our group had a program for the convention, a program to utilize the most burning issues of that time in the Miners Union and in the convention in order to defeat the Lewis machine. The Foster group proposed to concentrate on these burning issues. One was the reinstatement of Alex. Ross. Comrade [redacted] made this a central point of attack against Foster, demanding the nationalization of mines should be the central issue, because it is more politically. This policy of [redacted] made it so much more difficult to build alliances and extend our influence. In those months the Ruthenberg-Lovestons group conducted a systematic attack against Foster and his group for building these connections and strengthening them with the progressives in the trade unions. What was the result? The result of these tactics of [redacted] and Lovestons brought us to July 1933, the split with the progressives in the Federated Farmer-Labor Party convention. What do we see, comrades, in this? WHILE FOSTER AND HIS GROUP, LIKE THE MARXISTS, WERE TRYING TO BREAK THE ISOLATION OF THE PARTY BY EXTENDING ITS INFLUENCE AND FINDING ALLIES FOR IT, THE LOVESTONS GROUP WAS BREAKING THESE UNITED FRONTS, DESTROYING THESE CONNECTIONS AND ISOLATING THE PARTY.

And I ask the question, which of these two groups in that particular instance proved to be more Marxian from the view of the Lenin definition of Marxian and not that of Comrade Bedacht?

I wish to bring several more examples to illustrate my point. Following the split in July, 1933, what did our group do and what did the Lovestons group do? I will tell you what they both did.

Our group systematically and consistently fought in the CIO of our party not to push the Federated forward as the already complete Farmer-Labor Party, but to retain it as an organization instrument in order to again reestablish our contact with the progressives and to reestablish a labor party movement with a mass basis backed by the trade unions.

Our main efforts in these months, and in the CIO and Polcom minutes will prove it to be so - following July 1933, were directed to pick up the broken connections with the progressives, to again establish contact with them or with as many of them as possible, to get allies for our party so as not to be isolated. To have a wider basis from which to operate and fight against our main enemy. Our main slogan in these days was to fight against the isolation of the party, fight to secure allies for it in its struggle.

Like true Marxians we carried on the fight in this spirit. But what did the Lovestons group do then? They began systematically and consistently to attack us for sabotaging the Federated, though there was nothing to sabotage against. The Ruthenberg-Lovestons group maintained that we must build the Federated as a party, thus making the breach with the progressives even wider. We were opposed to this. We knew that any effort to make it a party means to condemn the whole communist movement to isolation for years to come.

Comrade [redacted] in these months wrote a thesis, the famous, or shall I say infamous, August thesis. I am sure many of you remember the history of the August thesis, a document which was written for one purpose only, namely, to justify the disastrous mistake in July 1933, by creating a theory for a dual revolutionary labor party led and dominated by the Communists, a theory

which [redacted] and his Lovestons group had to abandon, which was condemned by the party as a whole and by the CI, a theory which ran contrary to every fundamental of Marxism. That because it created a condition or made for the creation of a condition in which the party would have found itself completely without any allies and supporters outside of its own membership and a close circle of active sympathizers. b7C

I will now go a step further bringing my analysis up to date. In preparation for the 1934 party convention George Foster and our group came to the Party Commission with a resolution on industrial work. And what was the central point of that resolution? It was a proposal that the left wing initiate a campaign to organize progressive blocs, to organize the progressive elements. Our group right along realized the importance of the progressive, the importance of establishing contact with them, making alliances with them for common struggle against the reactionaries. But it was only at this 1934 convention that we formulated the idea that if the progressives wouldn't organize themselves we must organize them, not openly as communists but through our various connections. It is the duty of the left wing to help organize the progressives. We have got to strengthen our allies and thus strengthen ourselves. This resolution was approved by the Party Commission but against the opposition of the Ruthenberg group, by the support of the Chairman. The party convention also adopted this resolution and what was the next step of the Lovestons group after that? The next thing, comrades, that the Lovestons group prevented us with what was the famous "fundamental revision". What was this? As far as the Lovestons group was concerned this was nothing else but another attempt to break up what ever connections and alliances the party had with the progressives in the trade unions. IN PRACTICE this fundamental revision, which was advocated by the Lovestons group immediately followed the party convention, was a move away not only from the progressives but also a move away from the left wing and our sympathizers. You remember, what was the demand in the fundamental revision? Practically for the liquidation of the organized left wing. For the breaking up of the Trade Union Educational League, which meant not only giving up of the idea of alliances with progressives but also the idea of organizing communist and non-communist trade unionists into a definite left wing. This was the Marxist way in which the Marxist trunk of our party understood its duties to build allies and alliances for the workers and our party against the main enemy.

I will proceed further with this examination. What happened at the Sixth Plenum of the Comintern in 1935? What did the Ruthenberg-Lovestons group do there? And what did our comrades do there? I will tell you what they did. b7C

The Ruthenberg-Lovestons group at the Sixth Plenum conducted a fight for the ideas of fundamental revision. They did not do it very openly, not very boldly, nor very energetically, but they proceeded in the struggle against our idea of building a left wing, against our idea of building progressive blocs. On this they were overruled by the Communist International. b7C

What did we do in Moscow at the Sixth Plenum? We continued to press the idea, and finally convinced the leading comrades of the Comintern, that in the U.S. in the trade union movement, we must not confuse the left wing with the progressives. What we must not confuse these two things, because they are not one and the same thing. If you do confuse them the result will be failure to present a correct policy for the progressives so that instead of gaining them as allies you will be making enemies of them - strengthening the reactionaries instead of strengthening yourselves.

To complete the first part of my speech, I will cite just two more examples, one dealing with the conditions in the Fur Workers' Union and one dealing with the conditions in the ILWU. Two important unions, as you all know from present day developments and struggles there. In the Fur Workers' Union

Comrade Foster and the Foster group has been pursuing a policy to build up an alliance between the left wing on the one hand and the middle group in the union on the other hand. Due to this alliance the left wing in the Furriers' Union succeeded in getting control of the New York Joint Board which makes up 75 per cent of the union. You all know what this New York Joint Board is and what part it plays in the left wing movement. When the Fur Workers' Union held its national convention in Boston in 1925, the Lovestone group formulated a policy, put it into effect against the policy proposed by it and the result was that our alliance with the middle group was broken and the reactionaries got control of the International Union. This is known to every party member. This mistake has been condemned in this party and in the CI. The Lovestone group never openly admitted the mistake, again you see that we build united fronts and they break them up. This is why we are non-Marxian and they are Marxian.

In the ILGWU, in the Philadelphia convention in 1928, we had a policy based on the proposition that the conditions there were ripe for the left wing to break up the Zigman machine and to take charge of the union, by making an alliance with broken up sections of the old machine and various middle groups in the union. Build an alliance and defeat the reactionaries. But the ~~the~~ Lovestone group had a different policy. Their policy resulted in its violating the left wing and in the Zigman machine consolidating its forces and retaining control over the union. That was their policy. b7C

I repeat that from the point of view of building alliances for our party and thus extending its influence I am willing to submit the records of our group and the Lovestone group for an examination by the party. Such an examination of party experience and actual party policy shows that on the whole the Foster group was building alliances and united fronts and the Lovestone group was destroying them. This is one of the differences between our group and the Lovestone group. This is why we believe that we have been following correct and proper Marxian tactics and Marxian policies. It is not enough, Comrades, to be able to cite page, chapter and verse from Marxian books. As Lenin says that Marxian is being tested in action, not for one moment only, but in a long period of time. One of the main essentials of Marxian, according to Lenin, is the ability to find allies and work with them and thus strengthen your movement. In this respect our group showed and manifested splendid Marxian abilities and correct Marxian conceptions while the Lovestone group manifested the exact opposite.

NATIONAL CITY PRODUCTS INDUSTRIES ASSOCIATION

CHAMBER OF COMMERCE BUILDING

38965

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

TELEPHONE DEARBORN 1946



GENERAL COUNSEL: GOOD, CHILDS, BORN & WESCOTT
MEMBER: LEAGUE FOR INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY
NATIONAL INDUSTRIAL CONFERENCE BOARD
KANSASVILLE, OHIO OFFICE 1927
SIC PROPLER BARE BAGO.

July
Twelve
1927



62-12297

TO MEMBERS AND FRIENDS:

The question has been asked by some of our members and friends from time to time why we, as an industrial association, have followed so closely the movements of many organizations of presumably a religious, social or political nature.

Our answer is that these organizations, whose names in many cases do not at all indicate the scope of their activities, are very active in spreading doctrines which are antagonistic, we believe, to the best interests of the industrial life of our nation, and consequently to OUR INDUSTRY AND THE INTERESTS OF OUR MEMBERS.

The I.W.W. was, and is, condemned by our government and by industry, as a pernicious organization whose doctrines threaten the welfare of our industrial life. In the preamble of the I.W.W. constitution, we read:

"Instead of the conservative motto, 'A fair day's wages for a fair day's work', we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, 'Abolition of the wage system'.

It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism."

Now let us take the creeds of some of the organizations to which we have referred. We find in the creed of the Fellowship for a Christian Social Order the following (section 4):

"We must, therefore, endeavor to transform such unChristian attitudes and practices as now hinder fellowship; extravagant luxury for some, while many live in poverty and want; excessive concentration of power and privilege as a result of vast wealth in the hands of a few; monopoly of natural resources for private gain; AUTOCRATIC CONTROL OF INDUSTRY BY ANY GROUP; PRODUCTION FOR INDIVIDUAL PROFIT AND POWER RATHER THAN FOR SOCIAL USE AND SERVICE; arrogance and antagonism of classes, nations and races; war, the final denial of brotherhood." (Emphasis supplied)

Next we take the League for Industrial Democracy on whose stationery we find the following slogan:

"Object: Education for a new social order based on production for use and not for profit." (Underscorings ours)

NOT RECORDED

H. O. E.

We could quote from several more of these organization creeds but these will suffice to point out that as charged with the welfare of the industrial interests of our members, we cannot differentiate between the wish of the I.W.W. to ABOLISH THE WAGE SYSTEM AND DO AWAY WITH CAPITALISM, the condemnation of the fellowship for a Christian Social Order of our present AUTOCRATIC CONTROL OF INDUSTRY BY ANY GROUP, AND PRODUCTION FOR INDIVIDUAL PROFIT AND POWER RATHER THAN FOR SOCIAL USE AND SERVICE and the object of the League for Industrial Democracy, EDUCATION FOR A NEW SOCIAL ORDER BASED ON PRODUCTION FOR USE AND NOT FOR PROFIT.

The name of the organization does not alter the fact that each one is working for the overthrow of our so-called capitalistic system and preaching the doctrine of discontent among the workers of our nation. We are not alarmed by the propaganda of the I.W.W. who have been discredited by their advocacy of sabotage and violence, but the overthrow of our industrial structure when preached by organizations using the name of the Master, or in the name of Democracy, or similar captions, is dangerous because it attracts to the cause many well-meaning but misguided individuals who enthusiastically endorse the doctrines preached and contribute to the support of many such organizations, without really understanding what it is all about, and most of whom are contributing from funds received through the benefits of our present industrial system which they unwittingly are trying to destroy.

The extent to which the churches, the YMCA and YWCA are being used by those who would destroy our industrial system is almost unbelievable. You will perhaps remember the unfair and biased "Interchurch Steel Strike Report" published in 1920; this was, we believe, the pioneer effort of the churches in recent times to take unto themselves the office of arbitrators in industry and to attempt to dictate our industries' labor policies. Since that time, dozens of so-called "Reverend" gentlemen without knowledge of industrial conditions, have "investigated industrial conditions" and written profusely on the need for a change in our industrial system and the adoption of "a new social order based on production for use and not for profit".

We realized some four years ago the trend of conditions as outlined above and as the matter of industrial relations was involved, your Commissioner decided to seek the fullest information on the subject and to keep in touch with this movement as with all other movements affecting the clay products industry.

During the past few years, the tendency of the churches to "investigate industry" and recommend policies which they believed should be adopted, has increased very greatly, and separate organizations working in harmony with the churches have been formed for the same purpose.

Thus we find the following organizations combining to study industry:

- Federal Council of Churches - Social Service Commission
- Young Men's Christian Association - New York City
- Young Women's Christian Association - New York City
- Church League for Industrial Democracy
- Fellowship of Reconciliation
- Fellowship for a Christian Social Order
- Continuation Committee of the Evanston Conference
- American Friends Service Committee

The May 7, 1927, Information Service Bulletin, issued by the Department of Education and Research of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, contains the following: "Intensive recruiting is being done at this time to persuade as many college and theological seminary students as possible to work at common labor this summer in order to gain some social understanding of labor problems."

The attitude of the above organizations on industrial questions can be generally summarized by the following, as announced by the League for Industrial Democracy: "Education for a new social order based on production for use and not for profit."

Can these college and theological seminary students, committed to the above principles regarding industry, or biased by these, give a fair and impartial report regarding their experiences with our industrial system? WE BELIEVE

NOT.

On the other hand, by spreading their doctrines of "a new social order based on production for use and not for profit" they can, and undoubtedly do, spread the gospel of discontent among the workers with whom they contact and act as missionaries for those societies that would bring about an overturning of our present industrial system. Their position is identical with that of the I.W.W. in whose preamble we find "we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, 'Abolition of the wage system'."

Forty-one students last year were engaged in industrial work during the vacation period, under the auspices of the above organizations.

It would be an almost impossible task to summarize what we have learned during our study and investigations of the past four years. We have accumulated thousands of documents concerning the many organizations which are found inter-related in many cases, in the work of spreading propaganda against our industrial system, against our financial system and against our form of government.

Among the organizations who knowingly, or unknowingly, are assisting in one part or another in this propaganda program, are:

- 1.--Churches.
- 2.--Organizations to change our so-called Social Order.
- 3.-- " " influence legislation affecting industry.
- 4.-- " " resist war.
- 5.-- " " military training in schools and colleges.
- 6.-- " " promote internationalism.
- 7.--Socialists.
- 8.--Communists.

We have no criticism to make regarding the desire of any group of men or women to inform themselves on matters which concern us all as individuals, and as a nation.

We do not question the right of such groups to organize into societies for mutual study of such matters.

We do, however, emphatically protest when such groups organize with a pronouncement of principles which we believe to be wholly wrong and opposed to the best interests of our country, and taking the position of authorities on such subjects, undertake to spread their doctrines by the publication of propaganda, by lectures, by public meetings, etc.

Thousands of patriotic Americans are unwittingly furnishing hundreds of thousands of dollars and supporting movement which they believe are wholly right in principle but which tend to undermine our industrial and social structure and the foundations of our government itself.

The most striking result of our investigations was the discovery that a comparatively small group of men and women numbering not more than five hundred, control the destinies of ninety per cent of the organizations which we believe to be subversive to the nation's welfare. There is a distinct and well marked trail through interlocking officials of the various organizations, from those which are organized in the name of the Master to those avowedly in favor of making the United States a part of the Socialist Soviets of the World.

An excellent illustration of the working of some of the organizations we have named is found in the following news item from the July, 1927, issue of the "National Republic":

✓ "NORMAN THOMAS, socialist candidate for governor of New York in 1924, will be one of the speakers at a conference to be held at Hillsdale College, Michigan, August 1-27, under the auspices of the Fellowship for a Christian Social Order. The program will consist almost entirely of addresses by radicals and 'liberals' of radical leanings."

The organization with the nice sounding name of the Fellowship for a Christian Social Order arranges a conference which is attended by the "best people", then comes Norman Thomas, nationally known Socialist, member of the national

committee of the American Civil Liberties Union, executive director of the League for Industrial Democracy and director of the Garland Fund and "does his stuff". Those interested in his talks which are very clever and calculated to interest and not offend his audience, are enlisted to support the League for Industrial Democracy, the Socialist Party, the American Civil Liberties Union and other organizations which are supporting Norman Thomas and many others with like ideas and aims.

We have already pointed out the similarity of objects, as affecting industry, of the Fellowship for a Christian Social Order, the League for Industrial Democracy and the I.W.W. From the I.W.W. we have only a step to go until we land in the ranks of full-fledged communism.

We have on occasions been referred to as "idealists", but let us see if there is not good reason for representatives of industry to watch closely the effects of the doctrines being preached.

The League for Industrial Democracy took over the work of the Intercollegiate Socialist Society when that organization's activities were being checked by patriotic citizens. The name was changed, a nice new slogan was selected "Education for a new social order based on production for use and not for profit", but the socialistic ideas remained the same. Note the following letter which was sent out by the League and signed by Norman Thomas, one of the League's executive directors:

"League for Industrial Democracy (Inc.),
New York City, January 10, 1927.

"To friends of the League for Industrial Democracy:

Here are some facts about the League for Industrial Democracy in 1926 which you won't want to miss. Blanshard and Lindsay, Thomas and Laidler, addressed some 52,000 students in 136 colleges and college conferences from the Atlantic to the Pacific, from Maine to Texas. The attendance at non-college meetings, public forums, labor unions, and all sorts of gatherings would run to much higher figures. We have maintained and increased our editorial news service which now goes to 130 labor, farm and college publications. We have added, as you know, to our pamphlet literature. Directly and through autonomous committees which we have set up, we have cooperated with the Passaic strike and other industrial struggles. We have fought American imperialism in China and elsewhere and we have worked for a solution of the problems of coal and superpower. (Underscorings ours) (The rest of the letter dealt with the League's finances and an appeal for funds.)

52,000 students in 136 colleges and college conferences addressed by officers of a League whose object is "Education for a new social order based on production for use and not for profit".

It seems to us that an association whose object is the betterment of industrial relations, should be intensely interested in the teachings of this League.

Then again, "Directly and through autonomous committees which we have set up, we have cooperated with the Passaic strike and other industrial struggles".

No mention is made of the work which the League attempted to do at Passaic or elsewhere, but as their object is a "New Social Order", we can hardly believe the work done was of a conciliatory nature.

Regarding the result of the League's work among college students and the 52,000 students addressed by League officers during 1926, we would call attention to a National Student Conference held in Milwaukee, Wis., in December, 1926. The conference was attended by about 1000 students. Many subjects were discussed at the conference, among them, Pacifism, the Race Problem, Free Speech, The Economic Order, etc., etc., and the students placed themselves on record by voting for or

against questions concerning the subjects under discussion. Five questions were voted on directly concerning labor and our industrial system, as follows:

1. While recognizing that there are certain evils in the present capitalistic system, we believe that the system as a whole is satisfactory and in accordance with the principles of Jesus. (38 in favor of the resolution)
2. We believe that the present competitive economic order based on production for profit rather than production for use is wrong. (800 in favor)
3. We believe in order to help transform this wrong economic order, all students should do all in their power to strengthen and improve the American organized labor movement. (385 in favor)
4. We believe that the present economic order should be displaced by a cooperative distributive system and a method of production in which the workers themselves share in the control. (592 in favor)
5. While recognizing certain evils in the policies of the Communists who are trying to change our economic order, we believe on the whole these policies are more satisfactory than the present economic system and are nearer to the ideals of Jesus. (57 in favor)

Note that of 1000 college students assembled only 38 voted in favor of continuing our present industrial system, while 800 voted that our industrial system is wrong.

Read Question 2 again, "We believe that the present competitive economic order based on production for profit rather than production for use is wrong."

Are they succeeding in their plan of education? Is the fruit of the League's officials' work in visiting and addressing 52,000 students in colleges during 1926 shown at this Student Conference?

We believe unquestionably so, since 800 voted for the League's new social order, as against only 38 who voted in favor of our present industrial system.

The Student Conference also voted to extend their investigations in industrial affairs as follows:

In view of the fact that a larger number of students have found the trips of social and industrial investigation to be of great value as a new supplement to the conference method of finding God, we would like to go on record as favoring this experiment for future conferences of the student movement, and recommend the following:

1. That a larger place be given in the conference program for these trips of seeing actual life situations so that more students can participate.
2. That a larger place be given to the city in which the conference is to be held, to make sure that it is an admirable place for social and industrial investigations.

It seems to us that industry and those who study industrial relations should be tremendously interested in the League and its work.

Note also, the object of the League for Industrial Democracy, A NEW ORDER, and then the object of the Communist Party, the DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT.

The only difference we can discern is that the communists openly advocate violence to attain their ends, while the socialist League for Industrial Democracy seeks by education and by "boring from within" organizations, colleges, schools, churches, by use of strikes and the ballot, to attain the same goal. Both seek to destroy our existing order of society and our form of government.

The League is the most dangerous in our opinion, as its motives are concealed and many so-called "intellectuals" are led to support it financially and by their influence and membership.

Many of the 800 students at the Conference who voted to express their belief that our "present competitive economic order" is wrong, will accept positions as teachers in schools and colleges after completing their courses of study and will naturally impress their views on our industrial system upon hundreds of those placed

in their charge. Does this mean nothing to industry?

The attention of the American Federation of Labor has been called to this disturbing factor in industry and its menace for the future by [redacted] a prominent Chicago A.F. of L. official. We quote as follows from a letter by him addressed to [redacted] of the A.F. of L.:

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"Apprehension is becoming rife in the Chicago labor movement concerning activities of the council of churches in the labor movement. This rise of apprehension is reflected in the belief that the work and aims of the church organizations are largely detrimental to the best interests of the trade union movement. We are aware that the late Andrew Carnegie set aside a \$2,000,000 endowment fund to carry on the work of the church council, but even this revenue isn't sufficient to cover the activities of the organization, which range in scope from legislative work in behalf of pacifist measures to bombarding the American labor movement with similar drive.

"Recently the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ held a lengthy convention in Chicago and it was attended by all classes of radicals who roam on the outer fringe of the labor movement. Some of those who attended were college professors, others were so-called social workers, and many others who pose as laborites, yet have no official connection with the labor movement.

"Pacifism was the keynote of virtually all speeches. On the other hand, the communists, who are avowedly against the present construction of the American labor movement and openly attempt to destroy it, advance the same kind of doctrines, only in a more severe form. But in the main the teachings of both groups in the pacifist line are identical and therefore inimical to the best interests of the trade union movement.

"Exhibit A of the church council's work was recorded last fall at the annual convention of the A.F. of L. at Detroit. Through the social service department of the church organization [redacted] of the locomotive engineers' magazine, was invited to speak in a church pulpit, ostensibly as a representative of labor.

b7C

"The United States war department is replete with his activities in the late war. You are well aware of [redacted] work with the communists' elements that attempted to destroy the United Mine Workers of America. It was [redacted] the scheduled junket of American labor leaders to Russia, expenses of which were to be paid by the Russian government. This junket didn't materialize because the invited labor leaders sent back their invitations with the word refusal written over them.

b7C

[redacted] is one of the many of his kind who work in harmony with the programs of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in the American trade union movement.

b7C

"I have collected additional data for your consideration and am submitting it in brief form as follows:

"1. The Federal Council is cooperating with and frequently working under the direction of radical groups. These same groups are affiliated with the Third Russian International, which is seeking to destroy all churches.

"2. From its inception the Federal Council has disapproved every measure of adequate defense for the nation. It carried on a campaign against preparedness when the country was being drawn into the world war.

"3. Every effort to strengthen the laws for exclusion of undesirable immigrants from this country has been opposed by the Federal Council of Churches. In this it has acted under direction of the American Civil Liberties Union, which openly boasts of its radicalism.

"In view of the Council's views on subjects of vital interest to the American trade union movement, I suggest an impartial investi-

gation be held by the American Federation of Labor and a report of the findings be submitted to the next convention of the A.F. of L. at Los Angeles, which will be held next fall.

Fraternally yours, [REDACTED]

b7C

The following organizations are actively engaged in "investigating industry" with a view of establishing a better "social understanding of labor problems".

Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America - Social Service Commission
Methodist Federation for Social Service
American Friends Service Committee
Church League for Industrial Democracy
Young Men's Christian Association
Young Women's Christian Association
Fellowship for a Christian Social Order
League for Industrial Democracy
Fellowship of Reconciliation

The last conference proved that their investigations so far have resulted in a verdict by a vote of 800 to 38 that our present industrial system is wrong.

Closely associated with these organizations and connected in many cases by interlocking members of their executive officers, are the following "liberal" and pacifist organizations, whose principles may be judged from the pledge on the membership cards of the War Resisters' League,

"I declare it to be my intention never to take part in war, offensive or defensive, international or civil, whether it be by bearing arms, making or handling munitions, voluntarily subscribing to war loans or using my labor for the purpose of setting others free for war service":

The War Resisters' League

- " Fellowship of Youth for Peace
- " Women's International League for Peace and Freedom
- " " Peace Party
- " Foreign Policy Assn.

National Council for the Prevention of War

Public Ownership League

The Peoples Reconstruction League

- " Conference for Progressive Political Action
- " Peoples Legislative Service

Committee on Militarism

Then the Socialist organizations:

The Socialist Party of the United States

- " League for Industrial Democracy
- " Young Peoples Socialist League
- " Pioneer Youths

These are followed by the Communist organizations:

The Workers (Communist) Party of America

- " Trade Union Educational League
- " International Labor Defense Council
- " Anti-Imperialist League
- " Council for the Protection of Foreign Born Workers
- " American Negro Labor Congress
- " Young Peoples Communist League
- " Young Pioneers

The American Civil Liberties Union might be classed as, in a way, a clearing-house of communistic, socialistic and pacifistic activities, since on its national committee are the names of men prominent in one or more of these movements, such as:

Harry P. Ward - Chairman, American Civil Liberties Union.
Secretary, Methodist Federation for Social Service
Member, Advisory Board, Fellowship of Reconciliation
Member, Collegiate Anti-Militarism Assn.

James H. Maurer - Member, National Committee of A.C.L.U.
" Socialist Party
" National Council for the Protection of Foreign
Born Workers
Vice President, League for Industrial Democracy
" " Executive Board, Pioneer Youth of America

[REDACTED] Member, National Committee of the A.C.L.U.
[REDACTED] Rand School of Social Science (Socialist College)
[REDACTED] League for Industrial Democracy
Member, Fellowship of Reconciliation

b7C

Norman Thomas - Member, National Committee of the A.C.L.U.
Executive Director, League for Industrial Democracy
Director, Garland Fund

[REDACTED] Member, National Committee of the A.C.L.U.
[REDACTED] Fellowship of Reconciliation
[REDACTED] Committee on Militarism in Education

b7C

Robert Morss Lovett - Member, National Committee of the A.C.L.U.
President, League for Industrial Democracy

Wm. Z. Foster - Member, National Committee of the A.C.L.U.
Secretary, Trade Union Educational League
Nationally known communist, working under the
direction of the Third Internationale of Moscow,
Russia, through the Workers (Communist) Party of
America.

Roger N. Baldwin - Former head of the American Civil Liberties Union
Director of the " " " "
Was imprisoned by the United States Government for
obstructing the draft.
Responsible for the following statements made before
the Luak Committee of New York State:
"Language that is part of an overt or criminal act is
part of the act itself and has nothing to do with the
issue of free speech; but the language unaccompanied
by such act, even if the logical consequences of it
lead others to the commission of the act, is legitimately
within our conception of free speech. For instance, the
advocacy of murder, unaccompanied by any act, is within
the legitimate scope of free speech." * * * I would say on
behalf of the entire committee that all of them disbe-
lieve in the legal theory of constructive intent, and
that all of them believe in the right of persons to ad-
vocate 'the overthrow of government by force and vio-
lence'.

"There should be no control whatever in advance over what any persons desire to say.* * *There should be no prosecution for mere expression of opinion on matters of public concern, however radical, however violent. Laws purporting to prevent the advocacy of the 'overthrow of the government by force and violence' are all violations of the right of free speech."

It is not our purpose to mention names of individuals other than as above to show connections which we have stated exist, otherwise, the list might be extended indefinitely.

Naturally the carrying on of the work of all of the organizations we have named, requires vast sums of money - where does it come from?

Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

Endowment \$10,000,000.

Object: To hasten the abolition of international war, etc.

The income of this fund amounts to \$500,000 per annum. Pacifist propaganda is promoted from this fund and other pacifist organizations are helped financially from its income.

The American Fund for Public Service (Garland Fund).

This fund was established by a young man named Charles Garland, who inherited approximately \$1,000,000 and being of "liberal tendencies" and unwilling to accept the responsibilities which the administration of such a sum would bring to him, turned over his inheritance to a Board of Directors to be used for the cause of "public service"

[REDACTED] b7C

Among the directors chosen to administer this fund, we find Roger Baldwin, Robert Morris Lovett, Norman Thomas, Wm. Z. Foster, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn and Scott Nearing.

Baldwin was imprisoned as a draft evader; Foster, Nearing and Elizabeth Gurley Flynn are Communists, and Thomas and Lovett are Socialists. It is not surprising to find that according to testimony given before the Congressional Committee on Military Affairs, the organizations with which they are affiliated have received about all of the income from the Garland Fund, and we are informed that the principal of the fund is also nearly exhausted. Among the disbursements mentioned at the Congressional hearing before the Committee on Military Affairs in 1926, we note the following items:

The American Civil Liberties Union, of which all the above mentioned directors of the Garland Fund are also officials, \$40,335.

The League for Industrial Democracy, of which Lovett and Thomas are officials, \$19,426.

The Fellowship of Reconciliation, \$5400.

Committee on Militarism in Education, \$1897.

[REDACTED] of the Fellowship of Reconciliation and [REDACTED] of the Committee on Militarism in Education, is a national committeeman of the American Civil Liberties Union. b7C

The National Council for the Prevention of War in an appeal for support, gives its annual expense at approximately \$60,000 per annum. The League for Industrial Democracy gives its expense as in excess of \$30,000 per annum.

The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America alone claims to represent 20,000,000 people.

The combined income of the allied groups working to overthrow our industrial system and form of government is enormous.

We have studiously confined this report to the interests of industry as far as this was possible, owing to the affiliations of the many organizations involved. We have avoided names, except to prove these various affiliations and allied interests.

Through such enticing appeals as "A New Social Order", "A Christian Social Order", painted as a social order in which all will be equal, poverty will be abolished and peace and good will will reign upon earth, ministers, professors and students have enlisted in the ranks of those who have condemned our industrial system.

"Industrial Democracy" is another appeal. No one attempts to define just what it means, but it has a nice smooth sound and thousands are now enlisted in the cause of bringing about this "Utopia in Industry".

If one is not interested in industrial affairs, then perhaps one or the other of the names of these organizations has an appeal.

"National Council for the Prevention of War" -

"Women's International League for Peace and Freedom" -

Sounds good - nobody wants war.

If interested in political study, there are organizations for one to join:

The Foreign Policy Association

The Conference for Progressive Political Action

The Peoples Reconstruction League.

Everyone likes to believe they are progressive and know how our government's affairs should be conducted.

And so people are led on, step by step, from one organization to another, each a little more progressive than the last, until they see the light, or are led to accept Socialistic and Communistic ideals.

The Communists, too, reach after all classes. They have a comprehensive array of subsidiaries,

The Young Pioneers

The Young Peoples Communist League

The Young Communist League

The Anti-Imperialist League

The Trade Union Educational League

and a race appeal in,

The Council For the Protection of Foreign Born Workers

The American-Negro Labor Congress.

There is an organization and appeal for every one of the inhabitants of our country by organizations which would destroy our present industrial system. As representatives of the system of industry which has made our country the most efficient, industrially, that the world has ever known, and the United States the most prosperous nation on earth, the NCPIA has worked wholeheartedly to oppose all those who would overthrow our existing, proven and time-honored successful policies, and substitute the ideals and dreams of "students in industry".

Our Nation's prosperity and the fact that our workers are better paid and have more advantages in every way than those of any other country, are admirably set forth by [redacted] for the National Association of Manufacturers, as follows:

"Progress, under freedom, is fortunately multiplying in our communities a rapidly increasing number of citizens who are the beneficiaries of our distributed prosperity. We develop as no other people ever have a nation of investors and small capitalists. Their existence and ever more rapid increase is the practical answer to the malicious assailants of our industrial system. If some

b7C

regard us as a nation of extravagant spenders, the cold statistical record displays extraordinary evidence of thrift and enlarging investment.

"A revolution in the ownership of business is taking place before our eyes. The people are becoming the owners of their industries. Without Socialism, our economic machine is socialized in the only way compatible with our ideals and institutions.

"By self-denial, saving and investment, we are becoming a new nation of small capitalists. For every man is a capitalist who spends less than he makes.

"The diffusion of ownership in American industry is so apparent that he who runs may read. In 1900, American corporations were said to have 4,500,000 stockholders. In 1922, careful investigation disclosed that this number had increased to at least 14,500,000.

"Last May, the Secretary of the Treasury estimated the number of stockholders at 19,000,000, an increase at the rate of 1,000,000 a year.

"The President of the United States, who is not reputed to make reckless statements, has since, in an address to Congress, calculated the number at 20,000,000.

"I refer to these striking facts because they indicate the divorce which has taken place between ownership and management."

As [redacted] states, "Without Socialism our economic machine is socialized in the only way compatible with our ideals and institutions". This change has taken place without a "world revolution" and without help or assistance from organizations formed to bring about a "a new social order", even in spite of the fact that the Milwaukee Student Conference decided that our industrial system is all wrong. b7C

No greater industrialists have ever lived than those in charge of America's industries today, who can safely be left to make further progress leading to the prosperity of all our citizens, so-called capitalists and workers alike.

Let us, however, enlighten those who have made no individual study of the subject and who are assisting through subversive organizations in an attempt to convince the people of America that a radical change is needed. The work of our Association in this connection has been along the lines of furnishing authentic information regarding subversive movements to our members and friends which we considered a duty in view of our status as an industrial relations Association.

Respectfully submitted,

NATIONAL CLAY PRODUCTS INDUSTRIES ASSOCIATION

HAI/AS

ITEMS OF INTEREST.
COMPILED BY H.A.JUNG
JULY 6TH, 1927.

Rufus M. Jones, chairman of the American Friends' Service Committee and contributing editor for "The World Tomorrow" (radical monthly publication) has an article in the July issue of that publication entitled "Building the Soul of a People". This entire article is devoted to a eulogy of Mahatma Gandhi, the Indian revolutionist. Mr. Jones states:

"The most important question to ask about a leader is to find out how far he has helped to create a nobler spirit in the hearts of his people, how far he has been able to raise and inspire the soul of his contemporaries and successors. Gandhi stands this test in a very high degree. He is slowly building a new soul in India. He is one of those rare persons who are unconscious of personal interests, unconcerned about what is coming to them. He comes as near as anyone I ever saw to a complete abolition of the ego-focus, the ego-complex. He is absorbed in a cause; he is 'lost' in the movement which he leads and inspires. He calls his method non-violence, but that is a very weak word for it. It is not a nay-method; it is a yea-method. It does not negate; it affirms. It is not the renunciation of the use of force; it is the discovery and the application of one of the greatest forces in the universe - the force of love, of human understanding, of unalloyed good will, of heroic friendship, of sympathetic cooperation; in short, the might of Truth. Gandhi calls his entire life work 'an experiment in truth'. There is no better way to name it. And the greatest thing about his experiment will be its contribution to the new soul of India."

* * * *

The French section of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom not wishing to be outdone by their American colleagues, are sending out the following pledge to their members for signing: "I promise not to do war service and to resist mobilization even if it endangers my life."

* * * *

The Women's Peace Union has established a Mexican section of their organization which was formed by members of the National Council of Mexican Women. This new organization is based on the War Resisters' declaration: "I affirm it is my intention never to aid in or sanction war, offensive or defensive, international or civil, in any way, whether by making or handling munitions, subscribing to war loans, using my labor for the purpose of setting others free for war service, helping by money or work any relief organization which supports or condones war."

* * * *

Many people are under the impression that the attacks made upon the teachers and professors in our educational institutions are unwarranted and indicate narrow-mindedness on the part of those who are fighting to keep socialist and communist teachings away from the children and youth. The following letter by William Albertson of Pittsburgh, Pa. is being circulated by "The Communist" (official monthly organ of the Workers (Communist) Party of America) to advertise "The Communist":

"HOW 'THE COMMUNIST' HAS HELPED ME IN HIGH SCHOOL WORK.

"By William Albertson, Pittsburg, Pa.

"It is to be understood of course, that the material that I used in connection with my High School work, did not emanate solely from 'The Communist', but from other publications as well, among which were the 'Daily Worker', 'The Workers Monthly', and a very little bit, ever so little, from the 'New Masses'.

"In school I happened to be one of the few who upheld the Soviet Union. I was pressed from all sides to bring proof of my convictions, especially since I maintained that production in the USSR was as efficient, if not more efficient than under the Czar. The article which helped me clinch my point was 'THE SOVIET ECONOMY OF THE 9TH ANNIVERSARY'. (Workers Monthly, Jan. 1927, p. 701.) In this article may be found the relationship between socialized cooperative and private industry in the USSR.

"Also in the same issue I used Bertram D. Wolfe's 'TOWARDS LENINISM' as proof that the U.S. was not such a well stabilized capitalistic country as it seems to be on the surface. Both these instances came up in my class in ELEMENTARY ECONOMICS. Incidentally, we were using Thomas Nixon Carver's textbook in this course. It is not worth the paper it is printed on.

"In my course in American History, Jay Lovestone did a lot of work with his 'MORE ABOUT THE FIRST AMERICAN REVOLUTION', (same issue) and his 'GOVERNMENT STRIKEBREAKER', although he does not know it.

"In the February issue of the same magazine, 'MEXICO AND NICARAGUA' by Ella G. Wolfe; 'AMERICAN IMPERIALISM AND THE FIGHT FOR THE PACIFIC', by N. Manuilsky; 'APPRENTICE TRAINING IN THE USSR' by C. A. Hathaway, and 'THE RELATION OF THE WORKERS PARTY TO RELIGION' by Lenin, came in handy in the above mentioned classes. The article by Lenin was discussed privately with my economic teacher.

"Since Imperialism, social and economic reform, the USSR, and student suicides have been the predominant subjects for discussion in my various classes lately, it is not hard to see why I said: 'The Communist' has been invaluable in my school work." (Underscoring ours.)

The last paragraph should be sufficient to open the eyes of even the blindest unless they themselves are Communists or Socialists.

* * * *

The National Woman's Party will hold their national convention at Colorado Springs, Colo., July 7-10. The Chicago Daily News of June 28th in reporting an interview with members of the "Party" quotes them as follows:

"It is well known that we are against prejudices and customs which create an attitude of mind that women are inferior to men. We stand for the highest expression of living. If to effect this condition, companionate marriages seem the solution, the National Woman's Party is for it. Many of us think that method of living may help in solving the financial and social problems of our young men as well as those of the young women." (Underscoring ours.)

The question of endorsement of "companionate marriage" will be brought up at the convention.

* * * *

Despite their denials of Communism and Socialism in their ranks, the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America continues to contradict their own statements.

The June 25th issue, Vol. VI, No. 26 of the weekly "Information Service" bulletin issued by the Department of Research and Education of the Federal Council, contains a book review by F. Ernest Johnson, page 1, on "New Tactics in Social Conflict" by Harry W. Laidler and Norman Thomas which are the proceedings of the League for Industrial Democracy annual summer conference of 1926. Johnson

States:

"The League for Industrial Democracy stands for 'production for use and not for profit'. Its leaders are essentially radical but its method is more aptly described as liberal; that is to say, it aims at promoting constructive thought through democratic discussion on the basis of scientifically ascertained facts." (Underscoring ours.)

* * * *

Rev. Charles N. Lathrop, who has been rapidly developing into a "class consciousness" endorser as a result of his increasing association with liberals and radicals, contributed an editorial to "The Churchman" (radical religious weekly) of July 2, captioned "The Pardon of Anita Whitney". Excerpts from this editorial are as follows:

"Another hideous injustice has been brought to nought and one breathes a sigh of relief. It is not only Miss Whitney herself who has been on trial; it was the institutions of a democratic State. They have been tried and found not wanting. . . . Miss Whitney was arrested in the midst of war hysteria because she belonged to the Communist Labor Party. . . . She was convicted because she belonged to a party. She had done nothing herself or said nothing herself that was by the widest stretch of the imagination incriminating. . . . The congratulations go to the State of California and particularly to Governor Young. He has delivered the state from an ugly stain on its history. He has also vindicated freedom and by his action maintained standards and ideals that are of national importance. The country owes him a debt of gratitude."

* * * *

The July 7th issue of "The Christian Century" (radical religious weekly) contains an editorial on page 823, headed "The 'Y' Holds the Students". This article states that the secession movement of the student department of the Y.M.C.A. has been checked through the herculean efforts of [REDACTED] of the Y.M.C.A. in drawing up a working agreement acceptable to both factions. The editorial continues stating:

"In its larger aspects the controversy presented an issue which is of tremendous importance to the entire Christian church. Briefly stated, the issue is whether a free, inquiring and radical Christian movement can maintain contact and fellowship with a great movement which is Christian in its basic motives but which through a vast institutional program, has given so many hostages to the forces which support and benefit by the status quo that its liberty and thought and action is seriously circumscribed. . . . This issue is a little more clear cut in the Y.M.C.A. than in the church of the present day because the student Christian movement is slightly more radical than young peoples' organizations of the churches and the Y.M.C.A. is slightly more conservative in its general temper than the church." (Underscoring ours.)

* * * *

[REDACTED] a Communist and the [REDACTED] at a Communist picnic held at Beyers Grove, Chicago, on July 4th made the following significant statement in his address:

"We must consider Russia as the fatherland disregarding where we were born as it is the only true fatherland of the working people, and, in the event of war being declared on Russia, it would be the duty of all the working class to let it be known that the working people were united and that if this country should declare war on Russia, it would have to fight the united working people in this country before they could fight Russia."

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PART TWO

ESSENTIALS OF MARXISM

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ability to study concrete conditions and base policy upon them

The second essential of Marxism, by which is proven, is the ability to study conditions of the world and formulate policy on the basis of such concrete conditions. Lenin's formula for Marxism, 'Marxism is not a dogma, but a method of study, a method of approaching life itself. Only those revolutionists who are able to study actual life and formulate policy on the basis of such concrete conditions have the right to call themselves Marxists and confine themselves to the study of the past but they cannot be effectual'.

"The problem here is to apply the general principles of Marxism to specific relations and conditions in the world that are peculiar to the study, under the conditions of the present day."

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the Profintern attached tremendous significance as to what the left wing is going to do about company unionism. Our party comrades in the Lovest group thought that the matter of company unions was a simple little proposition for second, third and maybe of fourth rate communists to be interested in. The problem of company unions and how to combat them was raised by us first and we compelled the other groups to think about it and adopt a policy for it. From the point of view of the social revolution company unionism is, of course, a simple matter but from the point of view of the immediate class struggle in the unions it is one of the biggest and most important mass problems. Our group discovered the problem, formulated it and proposed a policy for it, which is today the accepted party policy.

Another example: After the last party convention, when we came to Moscow, Comrade Foster and I, to the sixth plenum of the CI, we presented a thesis in which we discussed the new orientation of the trade union bureaucracy in the unions. He said that the growth of American imperialism is producing a tremendous swing to the right of the trade union bureaucracy in the unions and that this development is bound to have tremendous effects upon the labor movement. That was the reaction of the Lovestons group here and in Moscow? At first they said they could see no new orientation. They said the bureaucracy here was always moving to the right. That is there now in this development of the bureaucracy? Today they don't say that. Today they know better. Who in our party was the first to see this development? Who raised this big problem of how we can combat the effects of the American imperialism upon the labor movement. What policies shall we adopt? What methods of agitation and organization shall we adopt? Who raised this issue in our party? We did! Who formulated the policy? Our group did. They are now party policies accepted by the party. Very interesting that this problem of the new orientation and of the effects of the American imperialism upon the American labor movement Comrade Foster and I took up in a special booklet which we wrote in Moscow. It was immediately published in Russian. We sent a copy to America but our Central Committee never permitted that booklet to be published in the United States. Maybe they will now. And in that booklet for the first time in our party this problem was being raised and an attempt made to formulate policy for the party. I don't say that in this attempt we have solved the problem. What I claim for our group is the ability to see the class struggle as it develops to notice new developments and new forms, and the attempt to formulate a policy to lead our movement. Our group did these things and the Lovestons group did not.

Another example. In December, 1936, at the plenum of the CEC, Comrade Foster made a motion that the CEC initiate a special analysis and a special investigation to discover the effects of American imperialism upon the American class struggle. He made a speech in favor of that and the proposal was adopted. But the proposal was never carried out. What happened was that the Lovestons group utilized this incident to fabricate an issue against our group, charging Comrade Foster with making a statement in the CEC that the American working class was becoming bourgeoisified, charging Comrade Foster with having said that the American workers are becoming Capitalists.

Now I say that this proposal of Comrade Foster's and of our group will stand for many years to the credit of our group. The only one who had the intelligence and the courage to come to our party and say "Comrades, this American imperialism is a much more serious affair than we thought before; the effects of it on the class struggle are much more far-reaching than we thought; therefore we must find out what is happening and formulate policies to combat effects."

The Lovestons group was compelled to accept the motion, but never made the slightest attempt to carry out any such investigation.

I say, measure Marxism by deeds. Measure Marxism by actual records. To prove to you how basically essential the study of concrete conditions is for our party, I will quote Lenin again:

"To investigate, study, ascertain, grasp the nationally peculiar, nationally specific features in the CMCRTS attempts of every country to solve the aspects of a SINGLE international problem - therein lies the principal problem of the historical moment."

I remember when we were discussing with Comrade Loveston and Bedacht this question of an analysis, Comrade Bedacht said: "Well, I don't know what this is all about. What is there to study? Don't we know that the majority of the American workers are underpaid and exploited? What we find facts to prove to the American worker who earns \$25.00 a week, that he is not a capitalist?" This was Bedacht's approach. He could not understand that even the most exploited workers in America have pretty bourgeois illusions. You have to educate even the most exploited workers because the capitalist class is carrying on a consistent propaganda among the working class that it doesn't need class organization, that it should not wage a class struggle against capital.

Our party must equip itself with more intellectual ammunition and political ammunition to wage its struggle against the enemy in a more effective way. The "non-Marxian" Fosterites proposed that we equip ourselves with such ammunition, but the "Marxians" did not know what it was all about and refused to carry out the analysis.

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Marxians are tested on actual class struggle and study of these conditions. Comrades, truths and Leninist truths are derived from the proletariat revolutionists, who are the policies on the basis of actual struggle in Marxism. Those who study only in their offices reading books, may be able to write irrelevant articles for Marxian leaders. I will quote Lenin again and everywhere always consists in the ability to put fundamental principles of Communism to the test between classes and parties, to the specific objective development toward Communism - conditions in every separate country and which one must be able to stand and point out. ("Leftism").

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Comrades, I want to submit to you the following question to which I am going to give an answer. My question is this: Which of the two groups, the Foster or the Lovestone group, have contributed more to our movement by way of studying conditions of the American class struggle. I do not mean the class struggle in general, not class struggle all over the world, not the study of the general principles of Communism, but the concrete struggle in the United States. As to general principles these Cominterns give us, Lenin and Marx made them for us. I speak of who contributed more to discovering problems, American problems for our party, of analyzing these problems and attempting to give solution for these problems.

I say, comrades, without the slightest hesitation, that if there is a single man in our movement who has done more than anyone else in this respect, it is Comrade Foster. I will submit to you this proposition: Suppose you examine the party literature. Suppose you examine the number of books and pamphlets written by the American Communists and published in the United States on problems of the American class struggle. Who in our party has written more than Foster, books and pamphlets investigating conditions of the American class struggle? I wish to realize very much the AMERICAN CLASS STRUGGLE. If there is one, I would like to hear his name. I never heard it.

That comrade in our party has done more to bring forward to our movement, to our CEC, to our membership the problems of the American class struggle, pointing out that here is a problem which if you solve it correctly you advance the class struggle, you will heighten the political consciousness of the masses, and strengthen the Party. You must test a Marxian by this qualification.

And I maintain, and I am going to prove it, that from the point of view of this essential of Marxism, our group has nothing to be ashamed of as compared with the other groups in our own party. Let me bring you a few examples.

Comrades, I imagine everybody in our party today speaks of company unionism. Everybody knows that there are company unions in America. But this company unionism is one of the biggest problems, one of the most serious developments for the American Labor movement. Who was the first to raise this point? Comrade Foster, and when he did that in 1924, I remember the leading members of the Lovestone group willing and afterwards that Comrade Foster gave the... (faded text)

These comrades showed their sort of comradeship when they... (faded text)

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X COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES
AMONGST NEGROES.
(COMPILED BY H.A. JUNG)
JULY 12TH, 1927.

So long as the southern states with their large negro population retained agriculture as their principal industry, they were practically immune from invasion by labor or radical movements. Since the establishment of a number of manufacturing industries, principally textile, in recent years, there has been an ever increasing process of industrialization taking place. This increase in industrialization has created a new field for these labor and radical activities.

Business men in the United States have scoffed at and ignored well founded warnings of the growth of Communism in this country. A number of big business institutions in the east have suffered from the most devastating labor trouble ever known in their industry which were of Communist origin and Communist-conducted. Other institutions have been harassed by a veritable guerilla warfare conducted by their employes and instigated by Communists which is partially responsible for part of the migration of industrial plants to the South.

Faint-hearted attempts have been made off and on by the American Federation of Labor to organize negroes into negro local unions but have barred them from white unions which was discrimination against the negro, and as a result, the move failed. With the inception of Communism a specific program was formulated for the organizing of negroes and to instill class consciousness into them. One of the most persuasive features of this program is the demand for racial and social equality for the negro. All of the doctrines of Communism are peculiarly adaptable for the negro because they constitute things that are essentially negro characteristics. Freedom from all restraint physically, mentally and morally with an equal social and racial status with the white man.

To carry out the propaganda program of the Communist (Third) International at Moscow, an American Communist, Robert Minor by name, was placed in charge of the organizing and propaganda work amongst negroes in the United States and received his instructions personally in Moscow from the Third International. Minor, in carrying out his work, has sent adaptable young negroes to Moscow to receive personal training for the carrying on of the organizing work in the United States.

This flame of bolshevism kindled by Lenin and threatening at one time to set all Europe ablaze, is being quietly concentrated upon the United States and, through Robert Minor and his negro converts, a clearing house for bolshevik propaganda has been established by means of which the Communist (Third) International aims to ultimately dominate the negro population of this country and through them strike an effective blow at the government.

Zinoviev, one of the great militant Communist leaders in Russia, undoubtedly referred to this when he made the statement before the Communist (Third) International in March 1926, that the "clandestine method adopted for America would concentrate gradually with greater and greater power". The organization that has been formed and is functioning as the propaganda clearing house for negroes is known as the "American Negro Labor Congress" with headquarters in Chicago and which issues a publication called "The Negro Champion" that serves as its official mouthpiece.

Groups of negroes already have been chosen from a number of cities for intensive instruction in a special college in Moscow called the "University of Far Eastern Peoples".

The courses range from one to three years. A few of these individuals have returned and are actively working among the negroes of the country to make earnest bolsheviks of them. Others are still in the land of the Krenlin, finishing their training or awaiting instructions from the H. H. 191927 for their return.

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funds to carry on his work and doesn't permit "legality" to stand in his way when "policy demands", as he has averred. Birth certificates and such details are all nonsense, [redacted] told his disciples. b7C

In reply to questions put to him by Bailey, one of those chosen from New York City and now in Moscow, [redacted] in a letter dated Chicago, August 13 1925, wrote:

"Dear Comrade:

"I received your letter and was quite surprised at its contents. There is no such thing as a Bolshevik not being able to get a passport to any country he so chooses. Legality should never be an obstacle to doing anything which good policy demands. It is all nonsense writing down to the West Indies for a birth certificate. You asked why I didn't tell you this a month ago. Well, a month ago you were not on the list; for during our last conversation you told me that you preferred to wait for a later group, perhaps next year. We are always able to get our passports on a few hours' notice, but since you seem not to know how, then come to Chicago and I shall get it for you. Again you asked for railroad fare. Such should not be the case. If you come to Chicago I will help you to get your passport and look out for you in respect to food and shelter. Those who are going are convening here in Chicago and are only waiting until all the group is here. My home address is [redacted] I give you this that on your arrival you may come straight to my home." b7C

Another letter shows that Bailey lost little time in following instructions and wrote one of his five brothers here, Headley Bailey, from the Prairie Avenue house, to "tell mother that I am out to better myself and my race as well" and with a special injunction to burn the letter, as he did not want certain people to know where he was.

Another letter gave Bailey full instructions about sailing. His group was to leave Philadelphia around the first of September, 1925, on a steamer for Amsterdam or Hamburg. There was a short wait and then the whole group was to fly across the German border into Moscow by airplane. The plan, from other indications, did not work exactly as expected, and Bailey's party did not get off until the middle of the month.

It is understood that both the New York and federal authorities got word of the group's objective and had rushed on to Philadelphia to halt it, but the machinery of the Soviet agents seems to have been working nicely and they managed to slip out of the port unhampered.

Bailey is about thirty years old. He is a West Indian negro, served with the British Army in the World War and came to the United States upon demobilization. He worked at wagon painting and other trades and latterly, before his departure, he became an idler and played the lotteries steadfastly. At the house at 853 St. Nicholas Avenue, where he lived, he was known for his radical ideas and his attempts to convert all those about him to them. He gradually drifted to meetings where radicalism played a driving part and at one of which he was picked up by [redacted] b7C

It is known that the federal authorities have had an eye on this phase of the Soviet's activities in the United States, but what the government officials are doing or planning to forestall its possible serious effects was not divulged.

(Part of the above material furnished by [redacted] of the New York Herald Tribune). b7C

ITEMS OF INTEREST.
COMPILED BY H.A. JUNG
JULY 12TH, 1927.

It is refreshing to hear of a clergyman who has the courage to meet an issue face to face instead of trying to provide an alibi for the church. The Chicago Tribune of July 10th states that the [REDACTED] of the Wheadon Methodist Episcopal Church of Evanston, Illinois, in a sermon at the Des Plaines (Illinois) camp grounds said "the growth of organized atheism in our colleges and universities is due to a lack of frankness and courage on the part of the church in facing the truth. Most of us are familiar with the avowed purposes of organized atheism. It seeks to abolish chaplains in the army, navy and Congress, to exclude the bible from the public schools, and from using the bible in the administration of oaths in the courts, in the removal from our coins 'In God We Trust', and in other ways banish all mention of God or religion. . . . Beware of the living religion of dead men lest it become the dead religion of living men."

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The Chicago Tribune has commenced the publishing of a series of articles by Arthur Sears Henning under the title of "Organizations Rule Congress by Propaganda". These articles are the result of an investigation instituted by the "Tribune" in which "nearly one hundred permanent organizations issuing propaganda or otherwise seeking to influence public opinion and legislation on moral, political, social and economic questions", were interviewed.

A few of these organizations with their purposes and the amount of their annual expenditures are herewith given as listed by the "Tribune":

<u>Carnegie Endowment for International Peace</u> : Promotes internationalism and propagandizes for the League of Nations and World Court.	\$530,000
<u>National Education Association</u> : Working for creation of a federal department of education and other legislation affecting education.	400,000
<u>Labor</u> : Weekly organ of the fifteen railway employees' unions devoted to radical labor and political propaganda.	400,000
<u>Federal Council of Churches</u> : Organization representing twenty-eight Protestant church denominations comprising 147,252 churches and 22,455,594 communicants, designed to unify church work and exert church influence in public affairs	330,000
<u>American Fund for Public Service</u> : Created by Charles Garland to finance Communist, Socialist and other radical groups.	225,000
<u>League of Nations Non-Partisan Association</u> : Working for entrance of the United States into the League of Nations.	200,000
<u>American Federation of Labor</u> : For promotion of legislation and for propaganda supporting labor legislative program.	150,000
<u>National League of Women Voters</u> : Influences legislation, bringing "A characteristic woman's viewpoint to the solution of the nation's problems".	
<u>Church Peace Union and its subsidiary, The World Alliance for Promoting International Friendship Through the Churches</u> : Devoted to activities in behalf of reduction of armaments and world peace.	

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Foreign Policy Association: Issues literature on
international questions designed to pro-
mote a liberal American foreign policy. \$120,000

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"The Christian Century" of July 14th contains an editorial on page 846 captioned "Compulsory Drill in a Church College". The writer of the editorial is very much piqued because the pacifist program for driving the R.O.T.C. out of De Pauw University at Greencastle, Indiana, has failed, for the present at least, due to the loyal American president of that institution, Dr. Lemuel H. Murlin. The anti-militarists, conscientious objectors, radicals and pacifists have been "boring from within" at De Pauw in an endeavor to force the R.O.T.C. out. Press reports were recently issued to the effect that compulsory military training had been abolished. This went awry after a vote was taken which resulted in the president being authorized to override a previous faculty order for abolition of military training. President Murlin did this and tendered his resignation to take effect at the end of the next academic year. In this statement regarding R.O.T.C. he eulogized it, saying in part: "I have a strong conviction that the R.O.T.C. is a valuable asset in our college life; that the educational spirit, method and purpose of the R.O.T.C. program is of high educational value. It makes for democracy and Christianity on our campus."

The editorial concludes with the following paragraph:
"It is not to the credit of De Pauw university that it maintains compulsory drill for even one more year by the use of such devices as have been adopted by the president in the last stage of the controversy there. The Methodist churches of the middle west will raise no hosannas over this outcome. But the whole incident has been immensely revealing. When any cause depends upon such devices to maintain itself it has already written Ichabod over its door."

The taint of "sour grapes" is quite evident in the editorial. All mention of radical pacifist "devices" to nullify the National Defense Act are carefully avoided.

* * * *

The July 14th issue of "The Christian Century" publishes an article "What Happened in West Chester" by [REDACTED] on page 849.

This [REDACTED] is none other than the newly exposed [REDACTED] of the Olivet Church of West Chester and a member of the Liberal Club which was involved in the recent expose at the West Chester State Normal School where [REDACTED] were dismissed for radical activities. A thoroughly patriotic American Legion Post was responsible for the upheaval. During the controversy, the [REDACTED] stoutly denounced the faculty and the Legion, upholding the Liberal Club and the radical professors. The American Civil Liberties Union admired his efforts so much that the following announcement appeared in the March 23rd issue of the American Civil Liberties Union weekly Bulletin #243:

"Forrest Bailey, a director of the Union, intimated that he may ask Arthur Garfield Hays, New York attorney, to act as team-mate to [REDACTED] of the Olivet Church of West Chester and member of the Liberal Club."

This should be sufficient to "brand" [REDACTED]. He has qualified for the endorsement of the A.C.L.U. Ultimately his name will probably appear as a committee member of that thoroughly un-American organization.

In opening his article [REDACTED] states:

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"West Chester, Pennsylvania, has become a symbol of all that is reactionary in American life. A conservative Quaker town is paying the price for its obscurantism. American ideals of education and free speech were on trial and they lost - and lost heavily. The two most popular and inspiring professors at the State Normal School, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] were notified by the board of trustees that they were dismissed."

He then enters into the details of the controversy as viewed by the "liberals". He concludes the article with the statement that [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] He condemned the Legion and the trustees for their lack of a sense of justice in the dismissals and now incurs the enmity of all these groups together with the business manager who said he was meddling in affairs at the school and 'ought to be in hell'. So the battle of West Chester is over. Freedom of teaching and of free speech were on trial for their lives and they lost. But the forces of reaction must sooner or later be driven from the field vanquished. One defeat is often worth ten victories." Parenthesis ours. [REDACTED] eulogizes himself.)

Our comment is that a majority of eight to one among the clergy would indicate that the business manager was right.

* * * *

The "New York Times" of July 9th in an article captioned "Unions Hit at Reds for Fight at Rally" reviews the riot which occurred at a Sacco-Vanzetti meeting in Union Square, New York City, when Communist and Socialist forces clashed. The article states:

[REDACTED] of the Committee for the Preservation of Trade Unions, sent a sharp letter of protest to the American Civil Liberties Union, calling attention to the scenes of violence at Union Square, and urging a united war on the Communists for their violent tactics. However, Arthur Garfield Hays, Executive Secretary of the Union, did not seem to take kindly yesterday to [REDACTED] views.

"I think it's an outrage that they did not let Gold speak," said Mr. Hays. "This bitterness between rights and lefts in the needle unions is being overdone. It's just as intolerant for the Socialists to adopt an attitude like that as for the Communists to stop Socialists from speaking. This meeting on Thursday had nothing to do with the warfare in the needle trades. It was a workingmen's demonstration, and Gold and his followers came there as workingmen."

"It is expected that [REDACTED] protest will be acted upon on Monday, at the next executive meeting of the Civil Liberties Union."

"Not only did he protest against Communist violence, but [REDACTED] made the charge that breaking up the meeting at Union Square had been premeditated. He laid the blame at the door of the Workers' Party."

* * * *

EXCERPTS FROM RESOLUTIONS
OF THE ENLARGED EXECUTIVE
OF THE YOUNG COMMUNIST IN-
TERNATIONAL, NOVEMBER, 1926.
H. A. JUNG - JULY 13TH, 1927.

The November session of the Enlarged Executive Committee of the Young Communist International resulted in the passing of a number of resolutions which contained references to the youth movement of the United States and its relation to other organizations. These resolutions are published in pamphlet form. Pertinent excerpts are as follows:

"RESOLUTION ON THE REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE OF THE YOUNG COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL. The Enlarged Executive declares that a number of sections (Italian, German) have made the first steps towards the capture of young workers organized in religious youth associations. The Enlarged Executive points out that united front tactics towards religious organizations must be applied only from below, first and foremost on the basis of the struggle for the economic demands of the working class youth. However, Y.C.L.'s must certainly not neglect drawing the Catholic, Protestant, etc. working class youth into the political struggle, - neither must they make any concessions to the religious prejudices of the latter or weaken their own anti-religious propaganda. The Enlarged Executive declares that in the struggle for the emancipation of the mass of the working class youth from the ideological fetters of religion and priestcraft, the Young Communist Leagues have certainly not been active enough. The examples in Germany and Italy clearly show that the Y.C.L. is only just approaching the solution of this enormously important task.

"The Enlarged Executive is of the opinion that all Y.C.L.'s are in duty bound to participate in the movement of proletarian free thinkers. Communists should place themselves at the head of this broad anti-religious movement within the working class, and to expose the hypocrisy of the Social-Democrats who take refuge behind the formula 'religion is a private matter', the only object of which is to keep the proletariat passive with respect to the religious propaganda of the bourgeoisie. Y.C.L.'s should take the initiative for the formation of youth organizations of proletarian free thinkers. The Enlarged Executive favours the establishment of an International of the proletarian free thinking youth and the participation of the Y.C.L.'s in this International. This, of course, does not do away with the necessity of criticizing the political backwardness and half-heartedness of the present leaders of this movement - in fact, the contrary is the case.

"In view of the growing war peril, the Enlarged Executive considers a comprehensive consolidation of the struggle against bourgeois militarism and the preparation of new wars on the part of the imperialist States, one of the most important and immediate tasks of the Y.C.L. The Enlarged Executive declares that the anti-militarist propaganda in the work of the Y.C.L. has in a number of cases followed a wrong course, i.e., a pacifist course (the Young Workers' League of the United States). The anti-militarist propaganda of Communists must lay stress on the following points:

"(a) It must prove the inevitability of wars and the impossibility of their elimination under capitalist rule, particularly in the epoch of imperialism, during the gigantic growth of antagonisms called forth by the extreme unevenness of the development of capitalism.

"(b) It must mercilessly expose bourgeois pacifism which is nothing but a cloak for war preparations behind which the exploitation of the backwardness and the political indifference of the petty-bourgeoisie take shelter.

"(c) To expose the Social-Democratic theories on ultra-imperialism, 'pan-Europe', the League of Nations as an instrument of peace.

"(d) To expose the general phraseology of the reformists who promise to meet a declaration of war with a declaration of the General Strike and

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even with a revolution, weakening thereby at present the struggle of the working class against militarism.

"(e) To expose all the sophistries with the aid of which the bourgeoisie and the reformists enlist the masses for war. (For instance the campaign of 'French democracy' and the Italian Fascists).

"(f) The question of our attitude to the defense of the Fatherland must be given prominence and the revolutionary, defeatist policy of the Communists in every imperialist war must be explained.

"(g) To explain the necessity and inevitability for the proletariat to convert imperialist war into a fight against the imperialists, and also to explain the perniciousness and erroneousness of the slogans of general disarmament and war-boycott.

"(h) To explain the necessity of systematic anti-militarist work for the purpose of a real struggle against militarism.

"(i) To propagate the slogans 'Defense of the Soviet Union, against the attacks of the imperialists', 'The Soviet Union, is the only Fatherland of workers of all countries'.

"Only propaganda which lays stress on all these points can be called a really Communist anti-militarist propaganda.

"The Enlarged Executive is of the opinion that the deviation of the Young Workers' League of America, which in the sphere of anti-militarist propaganda fell into pacifism, is the expression in the most general and rough form of the errors which were also committed to a certain extent in a number of other sections of the Y.C.I. The Enlarged Executive thinks that the greatest mistake of the Y.W.I. of America was the formation of a political and organizational bloc with bourgeois and pacifist organizations with respect to anti-militarist propaganda. The Enlarged Executive considers a broad application of united front tactics in the struggle against militarism essential with respect to all young workers' organizations. A united front with pacifist organizations is also admissible but only on a local scale and for concrete questions in as far as considerable sections of young workers and young working farmers are to be found in these organizations. With respect to the Y.M.C.A., we apply these tactics only to local industrial groups of this association for the purpose of making young workers leave its ranks. The Y.M.C.A. is an instrument in the hands of the bourgeoisie against which we must carry on an energetic struggle, as a class enemy of the workers. But the Enlarged Executive is against any amalgamation or any organizational and political collaboration with bourgeois and petty bourgeoisie pacifist Leagues. A relentless and open struggle must be carried on against these organizations as a whole.

"In a number of countries the bourgeoisie is carrying on the total or partial obligatory military training of the school and working class youth in general (in special leagues, associations, camps, etc.). Y.C.L.'s must act very energetically against this militarization of the youth and must rally the mass of this youth to our anti-militarist slogans, must on no account allow themselves to be led away in their propaganda and agitation to adopt a wrong pacifist policy of boycott or sabotage of compulsory military training. The Enlarged Executive welcomes the energetic development of the anti-militarist activity in the Y.C.L.'s of France, Great Britain, Sweden, Czecho-Slovakia, Italy, etc. The Enlarged Executive draws attention to the great zeal and earnestness of this activity in the Y.C.L. of France, which must serve as an example to the other sections of the Y.C.I. The Enlarged Executive, however, declares that not one of the Y.C.I. sections has sufficiently supported the national revolutionary liberation struggle in China, Syria, Morocco and Indonesia.

"The Enlarged Executive emphasizes the necessity of the large scale mobilization of the mass of the soldiers for the struggle for partial demands (reduction of military service, leave of absence during harvest time, higher pay, support for soldiers' families, etc.) The struggle for these partial demands must be continued with our entire anti-militarist propaganda.

"The Enlarged Executive declares that the activity of the Young Communist Leagues in the sphere of economic struggle and trade union work has greatly developed lately, although generally speaking it cannot as yet be considered adequate. The activity as well as the leading role of the Y.C.L. of Great Britain during the General Strike and also throughout the duration of the coal strike is an example of Y.C.L. participation in the economic struggle of the working class. The active participation of the Y.T.L. of America in the Passaic strike and in the campaign among the miners, the participation of the Y.C.L. of France in the strike movements of the last few months, etc., show that a great stride forward has been made in this sphere of Y.C.I. activity. . . ."

"THE Y.C.L. AND THE OPPONENT YOUTH ORGANIZATIONS."

"Section 1. - General.

"Paragraph 1. The struggle against opponent youth organizations has been considerably improved and strengthened. The systematic activity against the bourgeois youth organizations which has been initiated in a number of countries must be mentioned as specially successful. But there are still countries where struggle against the opponent organizations is, generally speaking, very weak (for instance, in Sweden), and that there are forms of the opponent youth movement, the struggle against which has not yet been seriously taken in hand by the Y.C.I. as a whole, for instance, struggle against the Y.M.C.A., the boy scouts and the numerous local non-political associations and the Leagues.

"REPUBLICAN-PACIFIST ORGANIZATIONS."

"Section 4.

"Paragraph 13. There are various radical-pacifist youth associations in the United States. In connection with the disintegration work and with open struggle against it, United Front tactics are in principle applicable to these organizations. However, strict dissociation from them on questions of principle is essential, and any organizational form of the United Front with them is inexpedient. Only in concrete isolated cases temporary joint committees can be formed, reserving to ourselves full freedom of criticism and struggle for our Communist demands."

"RELIGIOUS YOUTH ORGANIZATIONS."

"Section 5.

"Paragraph 16. The various religious (mainly Catholic and Protestant) Youth Organizations are an important factor, and with regard to numerical strength our strongest opponent in the bourgeois camp. In spite of their various shades of opinion (for instance, in France and Italy), they are to be treated as a whole, for all are the main support of reaction. In most countries, the majority of their members are peasants, office and manual workers. In view of the worsening of the position of the working class youth and of the Left development within that youth, they turn their attention more and more to economic and social demagogy. They are closely connected with the Church; in most cases there is a priest at the head of even the smallest unit of these organizations, and he frequently has considerable influence over rank and file members. Generally speaking, there is no internal life with election of Executives and democracy in these organizations. They are also frequently closely connected with the reactionary defense organizations. Of considerable importance is the fact that they spread their influence through all kinds of sport, educational, and entertainment associations and welfare institutions, such as hostels, consultation bureaux and such-like. The Catholic as well as the Protestant youth organizations are co-ordinated internationally. The Catholic Youth International alone claims to have a membership of 1,953,000, and the Protestant Youth International a membership of 1,596,000.

"Paragraph 17. The Y.C.L.'s must pay maximum attention to the religious mass organizations of the Youth and must carry on an energetic and systematic struggle against them. The general tactical policy with respect to them is direct struggle against them and disintegration of their organizations. The working youth in their ranks must be enlightened on the character of these associations, must be captured for the class struggle and made to leave their ranks. In connection with this, we are endeavoring to draw the active members of these organizations into the movement of the United Front by means of factory conferences, young workers' conferences, committees of the working youth on a factory scale, unemployed com-

mittees, etc. Moreover there are opportunities to penetrate as an organization into the religious organizations and to form with the oppositional groups a United Front on a local scale. United Front tactics from organization to organization - but only on a local scale - is possible in localities with a strongly religious organization, provided there is a working class majority in the respective organization of the religious association. In such cases, a wedge must be driven between these sections of the association. However, these tactics must be applied very cautiously and under the direct control of the C. C. of the Y.C.L., taking into consideration local conditions and circumstances. These tactics cannot be applied to all countries and all religious associations. (At present, for instance, not to France, where the Catholic organizations are the extreme wing of reaction, and where it is essential to separate the youth in these organizations from the reaction.)

"(d) In our struggle against religious organizations, we must also utilize proletarian Free Thinkers' Organizations, endeavoring to bring them under our leadership and to develop them.

"(e) We must endeavor to get into contact with the membership over the heads of the priests and the Executive. Therefore, we must strengthen this work in the factory among the unemployed and within the Catholic trade unions.

"Paragraph 21. Special attention should be paid to the Y.M.C.A. against which we have, as yet, not proceeded seriously. This organization is particularly strong in Anglo-Saxon countries, especially in America, where it has a membership of about 1,000,000 mostly manual and office workers, and where it even has its own sections in the big enterprises. This organization is also very strong and dangerous in Asia, particularly in China, where it cleverly disguises the fact that it represents the interests of American imperialism, and where the struggle against it must assume special forms."

"RESOLUTION ON WORK AMONG CHILDREN."

"Section 1. - The Work in the Summer of 1926.

"Paragraph 1. Simultaneously with the revolutionary revival in a number of important countries, as well as the strengthening of mass work of the Communist Parties and the Y.C.L.'s, there has been in the course of the past six or seven months a revival in the activity of the most important Communist children's organizations in Great Britain, Germany, America, China. Despite the rather difficult conditions of work in the summer time, the suspension of the school as a steady place for mass work, as well as the increased activity of opponent organizations, the most important children's organizations developed considerably, and took part actively in the most important political events of their countries and in international campaigns (the British strike, the referendum in Germany, the Passaic strike in the United States, the struggle in China, Sixth International Children's Week, Twelfth International Youth Day, etc.)

"At the same time, during the summer months in a number of countries new methods of summer work were initiated for the first time on a fairly extensive scale, such as camps, work in children's playgrounds, hikes, excursions, etc.

"All this shows that the carrying out of the decisions of the last Plenum of the E. C. of the Y.C.I. has already been undertaken if not completely, at any rate, in their most important aspects by the leading Communist children's organizations.

"2. At the same time a certain standstill has been noticeable in the work of several countries (France, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, Denmark, Canada.) The reason lies chiefly in the insufficient attention paid by the Y.C.L.'s and the Communist Party to work among the children, as well as the weaknesses of the elements assigned to this work and the general conditions of work in several countries.

"In those countries, however, where work for building up of Communist children's organizations has only recently been started (Austria, Czecho-Slovakia), its development took much too long a time. This defect can and must be abolished in the immediate future.

"Finally, young but energetic Communist children's organizations have been started in a number of Latin-American countries (Argentina, Uruguay, Chile). They owe their rapid development to the great attention given them by the Y.C.L. and the C.P.

"3. The investigation and instruction of the Communist children's organizations of Central Europe carried out by the C. C. of the Y.C.I. as well as the building up of the leading organ of the Communist children's movement, 'The Workers' Child' (general livening up, and the drawing in of co-workers from other organizations) has contributed to the development of the Communist children's organizations. The concrete direction of the Leagues through the C. C. of the Y.C.I. has increased with regard to the Communist children's movement.

"4. These facts, however, should not obscure from the League, a number of important and unfulfilled tasks which were laid down by the previous Plenum of the C. C. of the Y.C.I. Without the fulfillment of these tasks, the further normal development of the Communist children's organizations, and a further successful struggle of new generations of active workers is not possible. It is specially important for all sections of the Y.C.I. to strengthen the leadership of the Communist children's organizations, in the leading sections as well as in lower sections of the organization. In the same way the C.P. must be drawn in to support the work of the Y.C.L.; it must be said that this support has hitherto been very weak.

"The struggle against the lack of ideological clarity in the ranks of the leaders of the Party as well as of the Y.C.L. members regarding questions of work among the children is also one of the main tasks of the near future.

"The Enlarged Executive of the Y.C.I. calls upon all sections to give the fullest attention to the following practical tasks, and to carry them out during the winter with the greatest possible effect."

"PRACTICAL TASKS FOR THE NEAR FUTURE."

"Section 2."

"Paragraph 5. The entire work of the children's organization must be carried out along the lines of the political decisions of the Y.C.I. Plenum. MASS WORK based on the economic, political and cultural interests of the children in the school, in neutral and sympathetic children's organizations, as well as in other places where children gather, clubs, playgrounds, etc., and also on the street, is, and remains for a long time, the main task of the Communist children's organization. The method of work, livening up of forms of work, self-activity of the children as well as the contents of the work, and the form of organization (reorganization on the basis of school nuclei), must be adapted to the task of the steady conquest of the masses of children.

"Special care must be taken to avoid dry, narrowly-political forms of work, as well as a mechanical carrying out of the reorganization on the basis of school nuclei. At the same time this reorganization should not do away with the entire inner educational work of the old lower organizations of the children's Leagues based on the masses.

"6. In order to achieve success in this direction, the leading organ, as well as all Y.C.L. organizations, must give their greatest attention in the following five tasks:

- "(a) Choice and training of leaders.
- "(b) Systematic work for the active children.
- "(c) Practical organization of the leaders in the children's press.
- "(d) Drawing the C.P. into the work of the Y.C.L. among the children. (Parents' and teachers' organizations, trade unions, etc.).
- "(e) Drawing in of proletarian organizations of adults into the struggle of the children.

"Without a rapid development of serious work in all these fields, we cannot count on a further development of the Communist children's organization, nor of strengthening and maintaining the successes already achieved in various countries.

"In order to fulfill the FIRST task of Enlarged Plenum considers the following necessary:

"1. The holding of eight-day central courses for the training of active workers within the Communist children's movement on the basis of districts - in Great Britain, the United States, Germany, France, Norway, Sweden, Czecho-Slovakia, Austria and China.

"Both in regard to choosing active elements as well as in obtaining material support, the Central Executive of the Leagues must do their utmost for the solution of this task.

"The International children's Bureau of the E.C. of the Y.C.I. must undertake in the immediate future the preparation of individual League programmes, schemes and other material for holding these courses.

"2. In the countries enumerated above and whenever possible in also other countries, courses for the training of co-workers in the lower organizations (group leaders, etc.) should be held in the leading districts.

"3. The composition of the lower cadres of leadership of the Communist children's movement must be submitted to a revision. Leaders who are not adapted to this work because of their age (over 23-25 years) as well as activity should, whenever possible, be replaced by younger (not under 16 years) and more active Y.C.L. members.

"For the solution of the SECOND task the following is necessary in all the countries:

"1. The holding of regular conferences at least once a month, of all active children who work in the nuclei and groups of the sub-district or the city for the purpose of discussing and working out general political, as well as purely practical questions, and also various forms and methods of work.

"2. The calling of special conferences of active children on the basis of individual forms of work (chairmen, secretaries, treasurers, co-workers in the press, etc.) for the discussion of questions in their fields.

"3. The careful preparation and energetic carrying out of children's conferences in the districts, as well as on a national scale, should be given the greatest attention.

"The successful carrying out of the THIRD task requires:

"1. In all countries where this has hitherto been neglected, a campaign should be started for the building up and strengthening of the central children's organs, and for the organization of a network of children's correspondents.

"2. The E.C. of the Y.C.I. has published three leading pamphlets and three children's pamphlets. 'The Workers' Child' should be published more regularly than hitherto in the leading languages.

"The fulfillment of the FOURTH task requires:

"1. Attempts should be made in all countries to have the Central Committee of the C.P. adopt resolutions for the support (moral support as well as the readiness to supply active elements) for the work of the Y.C.L. among the children on the basis of the decisions of the Org. Bureau of the E. C. of the Y.C.I. Special educational campaigns should be carried on among the members of the Party and Y.C.L. organizations regarding the significance and the essence of the Communist children's movement.

"2. The sending of representatives of the Agitprop Department of the C.P. to the leading organ of the children's organizations on a local and central scale.

"For the carrying out of the FIFTH task:

"1. Jointly with the Agitprop Department of the Y.C. Leagues and the C.P. the work among the existing parents' and teachers' organizations should be increased. The work must attempt to unite these organizations during school activity, and other action of the children's groups and nuclei under a revolutionary leadership.

"2. Through the Communist fractions in the trade unions and Parliaments, the economic demands of the children must be represented, and in general the support of the entire struggle of workers' children must be pushed.

"The Enlarged Executive of the Y.C.I. considers it absolutely necessary that the next Plenum of the International Children's Bureau be called at the latest in February, 1927."

ONE "CREED" OF THE
MASTER
AND SOME MODERN "CREEDS".
COMPILED BY H. A. JUNG
JULY 14TH, 1927.

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A letter from [REDACTED] of The Fellowship for a Christian Social Order and addressed to its members, concludes:
"The Fellowship binds us by strong ties. May our loyalty to Jesus' way of life make itself felt in all our relationships."

Among the principles of the Fellowship as stated in its literature, we find:

"We must therefore endeavor to transform such unchristian attitudes and practices as now hinder fellowship; production for individual profit and power rather than for social use and service."

In cooperation with the League for Industrial Democracy whose object is given as,

"Education for a new social order based on production for use and not for profit",

the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, YMCA, YWCA, Fellowship of Reconciliation and other organizations, a joint conference was held in Milwaukee, Wis. last December which was attended by about one thousand students in industry, who are affiliated with the above named organizations, and a vote was taken on all subjects discussed at the Conference.

Note the following:

Resolution #1. "While recognizing there are certain evils in the present capitalistic system, we believe that the system as a whole is satisfactory and in accordance with the principles of Jesus." 38 voted in favor of this resolution.

Resolution #2. "We believe that the present competitive economic order based on production for profit rather than for production for use is wrong." 800 voted in favor of this resolution.

We then may fairly claim that as a result of the teachings of these organizations, our present industrial system was condemned by a vote of 800 to 38.

The terms "Christian Social Order" and "A New Social Order" sound well, but there is nothing in the literature of the organizations that use these "slogans" to explain exactly what they mean, or what system is recommended to replace our present industrial system under which our nation has prospered more than any nation in history.

Our industrial system is the most efficient in the world today, our workers are more prosperous than those in any other country and enjoy comforts and luxuries known only to the wealthy in other countries. The record of workers in industry in America is one of constant upward growth until today tens of thousands of them are stockholders in the companies they have faithfully served.

Yet, say these "students in industry" led by "professional uplifters" and "reverend" ministers of the gospel, many of whom, failing to be successful in their sacred calling as Jesus' representatives on earth, seek to attain a following by attacking industry, "our industrial system is wrong", and to attract such following, they do not hesitate to use the name of the Master.

What do they offer us, these students who, wise in their ignorance of industrial affairs, condemn our industrial system? "Production for use" and "production for social use and service" are nice, smoothly rounded phrases to catch the well-intentioned but ignorant. The officials of the organizations who use these phrases don't attempt to explain what is meant by them; a few know whither they are trying to lead the innocent, but they won't tell and the students, the idealists, "know not what they do" when they condemn our in-

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dustrial system; they are indeed "the blind trying to lead the blind".

Our industrial system is not perfect, but it has proved to be the best in use since creation. It takes only a minute's time of a crazy man with some explosive to wreck a structure that was the result of months of strenuous labor on the part of many hundreds of workers while in process of construction.

Industry means something constructive and our industrial structure is one we can be proud of. Now threatens the intellectual who would destroy it.

We resent the references to the Master in this connection. What was "Jesus' way of life" as relating to labor? We needn't study or ponder long on the matter for He, following the oriental custom of teaching by stories or parables, has plainly stated his position regarding the employers and the workers. If you condemn the position taken by the Master by saying that conditions are different now, then you must on the same grounds disavow all of His teachings, and can not claim to want to follow "Jesus' way of life".

In the book of Matthew, Chapter XX, Verses 1 to 16, Jesus tells of a householder who went early in the morning to hire some laborers to work in his vineyard, and agreed with them to pay them a penny a day. About three hours later, seeing other idle men, he hired them also, saying, "Whatsoever is right, I will give you". Again at six hours and nine hours later, he hired still other men and sent them to work. Even at the eleventh hour, he hired men who were idle and sent them to work, saying, "Go ye also into the vineyard and whatsoever is right that shall ye receive".

In the evening when the men were paid, the first to receive their wage were the ones who had only worked one hour and they received each one a penny, or the sum agreed upon as a fair full day's wage. The men hired at various times during the day received also a penny, and when the men who had worked all day received the pay for which they had stipulated when hired, they murmured saying, "These last have wrought but one hour and thou hast made them equal unto us which have borne the burden and heat of the day".

The householder answered and said: "Friend, I do thee no wrong: didst not thou agree with me for a penny?"

"Take that thine is, and go thy way: I will give unto this last, even as unto thee.

"Is it not lawful for me to do what I will with mine own? Is thine eye evil, because I am good?"

We can only reason from this that the Master sounded a warning to workers who sought to take advantage of an employer's charity to those who unfortunately had not been able to work all day, and unmistakably stressed the doctrine of the right of individual contract between employer and employee.

There is not one word in the Bible to show that the Master ever said a word to disturb industrial conditions, to make a worker discontented or call a strike or that He investigated industrial conditions, or instructed his followers to do so. We do find that He said "The laborer is worthy of his hire", and as shown He upheld the right of individual contract.

He at all times did advise His followers to conform to the laws of the country. When asked by some of His enemies who wanted to embroil Him in trouble with the Roman authorities, whether it was right to pay taxes to Caesar, He replied: "Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and unto God the things that are God's." He taught obedience to the laws of His country, even though they were the laws of Rome.

Jesus confined His teachings to the conduct of the individual, and the individual's relations toward God and man. He entered into political relations with no man, did not advocate the changing of industrial or social conditions except as they came through the individual's love of God and of his fellow man. He had no new industrial or social programs to offer, had no foreign policy, knowing that his true followers would know what was right and fitting to do as occasion required.

Would that all those who presume to teach in His name, and His churches, and the organizations who seek followers in His name, would indeed follow His teachings, and in "Jesus' way of life".

* * * *

C R E E D S

INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD. (I.W.W.)

"I do solemnly swear that I hold in contempt all institutions of capitalism, including ecclesiastical and secular, and its laws, its flag, its courts, its codes, its churches, and its religions; that I will obey all summons and commands of the elected officials of this order, under penalty of death, and spare neither my time, effort, or money to obey, even to the last drop of my blood." (See Hearings Before the Committee on Military Affairs, House of Representatives, Sixty-Ninth Congress, first session on H.R. 8538, April 29, 30 and June 15, 1926 - page 229.)

"Instead of the conservative motto, 'A fair day's wages for a fair day's work', we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, 'Abolition of the wage system'. It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism." (From clipping I.W.W. Preamble, which appeared in Industrial Solidarity, issue of December 8th, 1926.)

* * * *

THE FELLOWSHIP FOR A CHRISTIAN SOCIAL ORDER.

"We must, therefore, endeavor to transform such unchristian attitudes and practices as now hinder fellowship; extravagant luxury for some, while many live in poverty and want; excessive concentration of power and privilege as a result of vast wealth in the hands of a few; monopoly of natural resources for private gain; autocratic control of industry by any group; PRODUCTION FOR INDIVIDUAL PROFIT AND POWER RATHER THAN FOR SOCIAL USE AND SERVICE; arrogance and antagonism of classes, races and nations; war, the final denial of brotherhood." (Note that the creeds of the I.W.W. and the Fellowship for a Christian Social Order are identical in thought and purpose in condemning our industrial system and our financial system.)

* * * *

LEAGUE FOR INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY.

"To promote an intelligent understanding of the labor movement and of the movement toward a new social order based on production for use and not for profit." (Twenty Years of Social Pioneering - published by the League for Industrial Democracy - page 17.)

* * * *

SOCIALIST PARTY.

"We, the Socialist Party of the United States, reaffirm our adherence to the one fundamental principle which unites Socialists of all lands: - collective ownership of natural resources and basic industries, and their democratic management for the use and benefit of all instead of the private profit of a privileged few." (Socialist Party Congressional Platform 1926 - from American Labor Year Book - page 120.)

* * * *

YOUNG WORKERS' LEAGUE.

"Its purposes shall be to organize and educate the young of the working class to understand their true position in capitalist society, to work for the abolition of capitalism and to aid in the establishment of a Republic of Workers' Councils - a government functioning through the power of the proletariat, to the exclusion of all other classes - as the first step towards the establishment of an International Classless Society, free from all political and economic slavery." (Article 1, Section 2, Constitution of the Young Workers' League of America.)

* * * *

WORKERS (COMMUNIST) PARTY OF AMERICA.

"It is only through the socializing of industry, through the power of the Workers' and Farmers' Government that the class struggle which today is tearing apart capitalist society can be ended, that the untold misery and suffering which results therefrom for the workers can be abolished, and industry made the basis for creating a higher standard of life for those who are producing the wealth of this country. This is the ideal which the Communist society will realize." (C. E. Ruthenberg - The Workers (Communist) Party - What It Stands For - Why Workers Should Join.)

* * * *

WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE FOR PEACE AND FREEDOM.

"The International Congress resolves that the National Sections be urged, in case of the threat or the declaration of War, to organize women to refuse their support in money, work or propaganda." (From Official Report, International Congress of Women, Zurich, May 12-17, 1919, Jane Addams, Pres. - Page 262.)

"Go to war if you want to, but know this: We have pledged ourselves not to give you our children, nor to encourage or nurse your soldiers, knit a sock, or roll a bandage; not to drive a truck, or make a war speech, or buy a bond." (See Hearings Before the Committee on Military Affairs, House of Representatives, Sixty-Ninth Congress, first session on H.R. 8532, April 29, 30 and June 15, 1926-p.137)

* * * *

WAR RESISTERS' LEAGUE. - which cooperates with the Fellowship of Youth for Peace, The Fellowship of Reconciliation and the War Resisters' International.

"I declare it to be my intention never to take part in war, offensive or defensive, international or civil, whether it be by bearing arms, making or handling munitions, voluntarily subscribing to war loans, or using my labor for the purpose of setting others free for war service." (Membership Card.)

* * * *

FELLOWSHIP OF YOUTH FOR PEACE.

"It is my purpose to strive for the removal of all causes of war; to work for the establishment of a social order based upon cooperation for the common good; and in all things to seek the unswerving practice of the principles of Jesus, not only in time of peace, but also in time of war. And since war inevitably involves violation of these principles, I find myself unable to take part in it." (Taken at its organization meeting at Indianapolis, December 20, 1923.)

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ON "TRADING WITH THE ENEMY"

2

If the machinations of the international conspirators now holding usurped power in Moscow are to be thwarted full advantage must be taken of the blow struck by Great Britain in severing diplomatic relations and the trade treaty with the U.S.S.R.

Official pronouncements of the Communist International show bitter hostility to the United States, a hostility second only to that expressed against Great Britain.

The real effect of the highly commendable action of Great Britain in severing diplomatic and official trade relations with the U.S.S.R. lies in the results on Soviet credits, and in the long run this economic blow will prove more far-reaching than even the damage to Soviet prestige resulting from Great Britain's severing of diplomatic relations. The facts now available make it very clear that the American business man or financier who deals with the Soviets or its subsidiary organizations for the sake of his own profit furnishes the Moscow conspirators with funds with which to bolster themselves and their campaign against America. This of course is equally true with respect to other countries, Great Britain included, whose nationals deal with the Soviets, for the attack of the Moscow conspirators is against all countries. Look briefly at the following facts:

The loudest yelp that came from Moscow following Great Britain's action subsequent to the Arcos raids was that the course would block an alleged \$50,000,000 loan or credit that was to have been extended by the Midland Bank of London to the Soviets or to some of its subsidiaries. Communist pronunciamentos and the Red papers generally harped continuously on this angle.

Under date of July 9 John Steele, London correspondent of the Chicago Tribune, cabled that as a result of Great Britain's action "the German banks which have tried to rediscount Soviet bills in the London market have been turned down and the same fate has befallen Austrian bankers who have offered Russian paper".

Keep that fact in mind, particularly in checking on efforts to have credit extended in this country, which may come -- is very apt to come -- through an effort to rediscount here ostensible German bank paper that in the last analysis will be found to be based on credits extended by bankers in Germany to the conspirators holding power in Moscow.

The Communist effort, aided by certain industrialists, to bring pressure to bear on the Baldwin government for reversal of its action by threatening to transfer Soviet business to other countries is mere noise if financiers and industrialists in the United States and in other countries will simply refuse to extend credit to the group that is striking at civilized governments everywhere. The Soviets cannot buy in any market unless they have either the cash or the credit wherewith to purchase and hitherto the Soviets have obtained both from Great Britain through the excess of Soviet exports to Great Britain over what the Soviets purchased in Great Britain. It was from this excess that the Soviets secured the wherewithall to trade in other countries. The records show that Soviet exports to Great Britain more than doubled between 1923 and 1926 and the credit balance in Russia's favor, so far as Great Britain was concerned, doubled in the same time (London Financial Times, June 17, 1927.)

Russia's exports for the past six months shape up approximately as follows: To England, 112.5 million rubles worth of goods; to Germany, 81.6 million rubles; to France, 35.6 million rubles; to Italy, 23.1 million rubles; and to America, 65 million rubles. At the same time in 1925-26 Russia absorbed only 0.95% of Great Britain's total exports.

This makes it very clear that when the conspirators who have usurped power in Russia forced Britain, by reason of the said conspirators' totally unprincipled course, to sever relations these international conspirators lost their

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best customer and likewise, because of that trade balance, their best banker.

Soviet officials, working through Amtorg, are already dickering with certain industrialists and financiers in the United States and announcement has already been made by Russian authorities to Communist headquarters in this country regarding certain contracts alleged to have been signed. I expect to make these reports public in a subsequent bulletin which I am withholding for the present in the hope of getting other data on other deals that are reported to be on and the source of information might be shut off if it were known just what contracts I had information about.

The facts in this bulletin are submitted -- and there is nothing confidential about it at all -- in order that those who are fighting for the best interests of the United States may see that trading with the Soviets, no matter what it may be legally, is morally "trading with the enemy". When we get the figures on the profits made by industrialists and financiers as a result of these trades we will have the market quotations on birthrights.

Respectfully submitted

(signed) _____

b7c

Dated July 11, 1927.

2

ITEMS OF INTEREST
COMPILED BY H.A. JUNG
JULY 19TH, 1927.

Arthur Sears Henning, the well known Washington correspondent for the Chicago Tribune, in his notable series of articles appearing daily since July 10th, is doing a timely service for his country and both he and the Tribune are to be congratulated especially for the expose of the radical and pacifist propaganda agencies and the people connected therewith, who are operating to harass and disrupt the government with the ultimate aim of changing the present social order. A few noteworthy extracts from these articles are as follows:

"'You see,' said Miss Dorothy Detzer, executive secretary (W.I.L.P.F.), a bit wistfully, 'we can't go to jail or do anything dramatic or martyr-like to manifest our disapproval of armies and navies as is possible in other countries. If we refuse to pay the tax applicable to support of the army and navy they do not put us in prison - they merely take our property to satisfy the tax. So all we can do is to protest.'" (Tribune, July 13, 1927.)

"[redacted] is taking a party abroad again this summer. 'The Party,' he announces, 'will be restricted to persons in public life who will actively promote better international relations upon their return, and who, through editorial responsibility, public speaking or writing, will be able to exert wide influence on public opinion. It is requested that others do not apply for membership.'" (Tribune, July 14, 1927.)

"In addition to [redacted] the officers of the American section (All America Anti-Imperialist League) are Scott Nearing, Upton Sinclair, [redacted] Robert W. Dunn, Carleton Beals, and Bishop Wm. Montgomery Brown, the deposed Episcopal bishop who is now bishop of the Old Catholic Church. Officers in the European section include Henry Barbusse of France, Bertrand Russell of England and Leon Trotsky of Russia." b7C

"Miss Dorothy Detzer, executive secretary of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, is authority for the statement that the arbitration resolution was hawked about to seventeen senators before one was found to father it, that one being Senator Joe L. Robinson (Democrat, Ark.) who is a member of the Federal Council of Churches. When it had been introduced the mass lobby was invoked by the propagandists and the resolution was passed unanimously."

"The Garland Fund is financing 'a study of American Imperialism [redacted] of Smith College, among the members of his advisory committee being the Rev. Samuel Guy Inman, member of the Federal Council of Churches and executive secretary of the Committee on Cooperation in Latin America which represents twenty-eight Protestant denominations proselyting in Latin American countries; Kenneth Durant, former Russian Soviet representative in New York; Robert W. Dunn, [redacted] and Oswald Garrison Villard of the A.C.L.U.; Kirby Page of the Federal Council of Churches and executive committee chairman of the Fellowship for a Christian Social Order and [redacted] of the Peoples' Legislative Service. Anti-imperialism propaganda is also prepared and issued directly by a committee of Garland Fund trustees [redacted] of The Nation.'" (Tribune, July 16, 1927.) b7C

* * * *

The Rev. Harry F. Ward, ultra-radical, has broken out again in an article appearing in the July 13th issue of "The New Republic", entitled "Free Speech for the Army" - page 194-5-6.

In this article the Rev. Ward deplors the fact that some army men have had the courage to take up the cudgels in defense from the rostrum and in print of the country to whose service they are dedicating their lives. He points out that army officers can unjustly (?) attack "good American citizens" whose

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is to disarm the country and change the present social order, and yet two poor abused Communist agitators (Paul Crouch and [redacted] who were sentenced to federal prison for seditious activities in the army but whose sentences were materially shortened, and are both out of prison now and in the pay of the Communist Party as organizers and agitators), were deprived of their freedom simply because they tried to Communize the Hawaiian army unit to which they were attached.

He also attacks the Military Intelligence Association, Inc. as a propaganda agency operating to deprive these "good Americans" of their constitutional right of free speech and states further that the War Department denies having any control over this organization. He also engages in a tirade against the "interlocking directorates" of these free speech suppressors. It is quite evident that the Rev. Ward's free speech ideas are limited solely to free speech for Communists and radicals who advocate nothing but overthrow of the government and Communization of society. Is it the rule rather than the exception to hear American citizens defend the government and if so, why should men sworn to protect the country be suppressed? Mr. Ward please answer.

* * * *

An editorial appearing on pages 186-7 of the July 13th issue of "The New Republic" makes laudatory comment on Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt's attack on the D.A.R. stating in part: "Mrs. Catt finds the Daughters an interesting case of the atrophy of the qualities exhibited by the fathers to whom they owe their title."

If it were true that the loyal ladies of the D.A.R. had "atrophy of the qualities", whatever that may mean, because they refuse to blink at things foreign to American ideals and tradition, then it is our earnest hope that their disease will become a pestilence and contaminate Mrs. Catt and those she defends including the editor of "The New Republic".

* * * *

[redacted] of the American Federation of Labor in denying any responsibility of his organization for the trade union delegation going to Russia [redacted] makes public the names of those composing the delegation who are desirous of secrecy. They consist of:

[redacted] Order of Railway Conductors [redacted] of Delegation).
[redacted] of the Railway Clerk.

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[redacted] Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen.

John Brophy, recent president, District 2, United Mine Workers of America.

Frank Palmer, Editor, Colorado Union Labor Advocate (Typographical Union).

[redacted] United Mine Workers of America.

[redacted] Locomotive Engineers' Journal.

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[redacted] American Artists and Actors' Federation.

Reported as going in addition to these "trade unionists" are found - the usual intellectual "hangers-on" in the persons of W. Jett Lauck, [redacted] Paul H. Douglas and [redacted]

"The Daily Worker" of July 15th, in an article appearing on page 2 captioned "Labor Delegates to Soviet Union Reply to [redacted]", states:

"Senator Borah, it is learned, will use the report which the Trade Union delegation will compile when it returns, as additional material in the investigation he is making of the policy of the state department toward the Soviet Union."

Borah, the inimitable champion of "freedom" for every country but the United States, refuses to be turned back in his resolve to gain recognition for Russia even though some other nations have established the aftermath of such recognition by cancelling all relations with that thoroughly treacherous government.

* * * *

An editorial appearing on page 50 of the July 20th issue of "The Nation" captioned "Patriots and Patrioteers" covers quite a lot of ground. Following a quotation of [redacted] refusal to attend Benjamin C. Marsh's Peoples' Reconstruction League conference it states:

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"And there you have in a nutshell the coward-mind of Calvin Coolidge's America. Don't criticize; don't denounce evils; be silent and let things go from bad to worse - that's patriotism according to the Secretary of the Navy."

It comments on Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt's denunciation of the D.A.R. and the Y.W.C.A. controversy in Fort Wayne, Indiana, where the loyal people of that City requested the resignation of the Y.W.C.A. secretaries because of their radical activities.

The article concludes with the statement:

"William Z. Foster, the Communist leader, seems to us far closer to the tradition of the founding fathers than [redacted] of the Better America Federation of California, who has just been indicted for usury. Mr. Foster is really trying to better America - according to his lights which are not our lights - not to line his own pockets and his course seems to us more patriotic than hushing up sordid oil or banking scandals. The way to maintain pride in the republic is constantly to hold it up to what are too lightly mouthed as the national ideals. Those who cast aspersions upon such efforts seem to us the real traitors to the spirit of the American republic."

The "New York Times" of July 15th, in an article captioned "Delegates Gather for Pacific Parley" publishes a list of the delegates to the Institute of Pacific Relations which is in conference at Honolulu. In this list we find the names of the usual "gang" of intelligentsia radicals and pacifists including [redacted]

Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, [redacted], James T. Shotwell and Mary Woolley.

It is interesting to note that no matter where, on the globe, an international meeting is held, our radical intelligentsia is always "on the job".

The "International Press Correspondence" (official English organ of the Communist International) of June 30, 1927, published an article "The Organizational Growth of the Workers (Communist) Party of America" by Jay Lovestone. In this article he gives the official figures of the Party membership which are as follows:

	1925			1926			1927		
	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.
Dues Payments	7,213	8,064	8,154	8,389	7,146	9,052	8,368	7,714	9,490
Init'n. Stamps	253	158	135	105	125	145	214	278	336

These authentic figures on the Communist Party membership are nearly double those so widely broadcast by James O'Neill in his book "Whence This Communism?". It is also interesting to note that the new membership paying initiation fees in 1927 is within ninety-three of the total of the two previous years listed. If there should be a serious decline in business with a resultant increase in unemployment, these figures would increase with even greater rapidity.

The "New York Times" of July 18th quotes [redacted] as replying to a query as to what he would do if he found that a daughter of his accepted Bertrand Russell's teaching of freedom in sex relations, as follows:

"I don't know. With proper home training I do not believe a girl would adopt that attitude. But if my daughter did, I don't think I should worry. After all, it is her life and not mine, her business and not mine. We must never forget the principle of freedom. Wrongs will right themselves in time. We can only offer our opinion to another person."

MEXICO

**BOLSHEVISM
THE MENACE**



Knights of Columbus

SUPREME COUNCIL

New Haven, Conn.

1926

The Warning Heard

The information contained in this pamphlet, the third of a series, indicates that the Knights of Columbus' campaign against the introduction of Bolshevism on this Continent has been notably successful. The people are awakening to the peril that is brewing in Mexico. They are beginning to see through the smoke screen of Red propaganda. They realize, now, that Calles and his associates are engaged in a project more potent for evil, more destructive of liberty and justice and human happiness than any mere religious persecution could possibly be. Already, influential newspapers and magazines of national circulation have heard the alarm and have joined in the campaign against radicalism and barbarism. Editorial noses sniff more sceptically at the Calles' "Constitution." The odor of sanctity, that surrounded such phrases as "national integrity," "sovereign state," "purely domestic, religious question," and so forth, has become almost imperceptible. The millions of men and women who love true liberty have heard the warning. They are determined that Red Russia shall not, through the mouths of traitors, rule Mexico and the American Continent.

The Knights of Columbus are printing and distributing one million copies of this third pamphlet. Copies of this, and of the preceding pamphlets, may be had free upon request.

First Edition - One million copies.

The Machete versus The Cross

(The following paragraphs are taken from an article by Sydney Sutherland, native of Mexico, son of a Methodist minister there, published in the Liberty magazine, and reprinted with the permission of the publishers. The article is the first of a series by an eyewitness and presents non-partisan evidence of the red peril of Calles and his henchmen.)

Today, priests are in hiding, growing mustaches to thwart the Federal Secret Service police; religion is dispensed by ecclesiastical bootleggers, who bless their flocks in obscure patios and in darkened rooms; the age of the Catacombs and the fugitive Christian martyrs is at hand once more; and foreign and native business is harried on the one hand by insatiable tax collectors, on the other by a sovietized union labor that teaches its children the tenets and philosophy of Karl Marx. Of all this, my friend, you shall have a plethora of detail in these epistles.

It seems that last March—this trouble started in January—in the village of Jalisquillo, which is in the Territory of Nayarit, a member of the lower house of the national Congress, one Juan Moreno, took the law into his own hands.

Surrounded by half a dozen armed plunderers, this individual tactfully waited until the villagers were gathered at early mass, and then raided the church. They entered with shouts and curses, to terrify the peons and their women. The old priest stopped the services and asked Moreno the reason for such sacrilege. The Congressman retorted that mass was prohibited, and that he had come to expel the worshipers, arrest the priest, and seal the doors of the church.

The old man asked for permission to remove the sacred vessels—they were pitifully poor in this

parish—to his residence; but Moreno and his gang grabbed the chalice and incense container. The priest then quickly swallowed the Host to save it from their profane hands, and Moreno and his accomplices shot him dead.

Nine Peons Hanged

With a howl of fury and sorrow, the congregation attacked the invaders and in the fight Moreno was fatally wounded. The peons had no guns, and it would seem obvious that the bullet came from one of the weapons of his excited companions.

In any event, the Federal troops rounded up the villagers the next day and questioned them. Unable to learn the identity of the assassin, they calmly selected nine Catholic peons and hung them to a tree in front of the church. I am sending you a photograph of the tree with its fruit of death. You can see by the cotton clothing and the sandals of the victims, the humble caste to which they belonged.

Mexico Totters

At this writing I do know certain things—and after I check and cross-check on them, I'll treat of them fully. For example, the boycott declared by the Catholic episcopate is tearing the life out of business all over the republic. Even apart from this, industry and commerce are desperate; harassed as they are constantly by tax gluttons on the one hand, and, on the other, by the demands of the bolshevik leaders who are running organized labor and enriching themselves in the process.

Mexico is galloping amuck, and the whole structure is tottering, in spite of the armed peace President Calles has been able to maintain, a peace that still requires armed escorts on every passenger train. No concern can keep going when it is conducted on a wholly selfish and one-sided basis.

Calles is shrewd. He is not molesting the American or other foreign Protestants, which of course keeps other nations from interfering. But

heed this prophecy: If he wins this fight against Rome, he will turn ruthlessly on the other creeds and rend them. He then will need only to quote what the Protestant leaders are now saying—that he is right and justified in his war on the Catholics.

And he will only have to quote the reports carried back to the United States by the herds of deluded Americans he and his bolshevik agents escort about this country, paying their expenses, and persuading Protestants that, in ten days, they have learned all about a country it would take ten years to begin to understand! I shall have more to say later about these personally conducted tours.

NO CREDIT TO CALLES

"There is a public school in every hamlet in Mexico; besides hundreds of academies, training schools, technical schools and colleges. And it is not out of place to add the fact that there are, in proportion, ten times as many people born in Mexico who speak two languages as there are in the United States. Of course vast numbers of our foreign-born citizens learn our language here; but it is as uncommon with us as it is common in Mexico that native-born professional and public men and,—in fact, everyone claiming to be educated—shall learn to use fluently at least one foreign language. Nor have we any such provision in our American public schools as that by which Mexico makes it compulsory even for her children to learn a foreign tongue."

*—Charles F. Lummis,
American Protestant Historian*

What the Religious Persecution Means

(The following editorial is reprinted from the Riverside Enterprise, California. It was written by Frederick F. Forbes, a non-Catholic who for fourteen years was Managing Editor of the Philadelphia North American.)

Religious persecution in Mexico has resulted in bloodshed. It was inevitable from the moment that President Calles ordered the legal rack and thumbscrew for those who came under the religious interdiction of the Mexican constitution.

Fugitives from the persecution are fleeing to the West Indies and the United States. Church and school property has been confiscated. Devoted men and women have seen the work of their lives destroyed, and their liberty of action—even their liberty of conscience—annihilated. Finally murder has been done.

The Calles government defends itself on the ground that it is enforcing the provisions of the Mexican constitution, which makes it illegal for any person not a native Mexican citizen to engage in the work of teaching or the ministration of religion.

And that is exactly what it is doing. But it does not by one whit lessen the fact that it is engaged in religious persecution, and in destroying the freedom of conscience without which there can be no other freedom.

The most distinguished service President Calles could render to his country would be the revising of the Constitution in such a way that, while safe-guarding the rights of all Mexicans, it invades and destroys the rights of none.

When the pagan emperors of Rome ordered the wholesale holocausts of Christians they were merely enforcing the constitution of the Roman empire. When the apostles Peter and Paul were martyred on the Appian way, they were victims of the law regulating the religious activities of foreigners. When Philip II. burned infidels and heretics he was defending the constitution of Spain. When Christ was nailed to the cross on Calvary He was a sacrifice to a government monopoly in religion, enforced by the Calles of his day.

Christ's command to His disciples was to teach all nations. He broke down the national boundaries in religion. The Constitution of Mexico or of any nation that does not recognize this contravenes a law higher than that ever made by man.

This is not a question of what religion or whose religion. It involves a fundamental human right that is beyond the power of any constitution to extinguish. It was James Russell Lowell who wrote, "Man is more than constitutions." It is man's soul that makes him so and his liberty to conscience and freedom of religion are among the most important conditions of his spiritual welfare.

But the Mexican constitution and Calles' attack are really more than a movement against liberty of conscience. They constitute an attempt to crush out religion itself. The anti-foreign clause is merely a subterfuge. In a land in which 90 per cent of the population is illiterate it would be impossible to provide native religious teachers sufficient to the needs of the people. Calles knows this, so did those who wrote the constitution. It is a poorly disguised plot to destroy religion, secularize the churches, nationalize the church property and smooth the way for the complete communization of the nation.

Let the American people not blind their eyes to the fact that a Bolshevik state is being developed on our southern border.

Ignorance and Fury

The Catholic Church may not be blameless in Mexico. It is hard to believe it blameless anywhere. It is an organization manned by human beings and subject in large measure to the weaknesses of humanity. But no organization has contributed so much of culture, sound principles, of sanity, of stability, to the world, as has the Catholic Church. What we know of Mexican art and literature and education and philosophy and architecture and heroism, outside of the purely Aztec, is almost wholly Catholic. Extermination is a strange reward to urge upon the Catholic Church, which made a Catholic people and gave them whatever they have of which they may be proud.

The Mexican government has been largely a bungle. It has never been able to achieve order, establish stability, or win the continued good will of nations. "Compulsory education has been in force in Mexico for more than fifty years," writes C. E. Castaneda in the *Educational Review*, October, 1924, quoted by Montavon, "but schools have not been maintained except in the larger cities and in a few towns. Thus the rural sections have never enjoyed the blessings of a public school system." Over eighty per cent. of Mexicans are illiterate. And this is the achievement of a government that denied and despoiled the Church over fifty years ago!

The persecution of the Church in Mexico springs from the jealous fury of all revolutionists against established institutions. It springs from the rage of all materialists against religion. It springs from the impotency of a government hysterically seeking to cover its own weakness in its viciousness toward others. And it springs from the ignorance and incompetency and madness of those now in power in Mexico. One feels sorry for the millions of ordinary Mexicans.

Mexico's Constitution

(Editorial from the St. Louis Post-Dispatch.)

President Calles' excuse for the outrages committed in Mexico against the churches is that he is merely enforcing the Constitution. The Constitution is at the bottom of all the trouble. Instead of embodying in that document the fundamental principles which should govern all Governments, the constitutional provisions relating to religion are packed with police regulations, violative of the principles of justice and liberty.

The Constitution, designed to separate church and state, and to take the church out of politics, puts the state into the church. It provides for the confiscation of all church property by the state, and the control of the churches under governmental supervision. It deprives the clergy of the rights of citizenship, and prescribes who shall and who shall not officiate as clergy. Purporting merely to free politics and the state from church domination, it makes the state the controlling power in religion. The real intent of the framers of the Constitution seems to have been the destruction of religion. At least it hampers and restricts religious activities.

The Constitution is wrong, and we do not believe that there can be peace, order and good-will in Mexico until the principle of religious liberty is re-established in the Constitution.

We cannot see that Mexico has gained anything by her new Constitution, which seriously affected civil and religious rights, but disorder and conflict. The confiscatory clauses relating to property in general brought Mexico into conflict with America; and the sweeping confiscatory clauses relating to church property, school property, hospital and asylum property, closing schools and all religious institutions, brought the Government into conflict with the masses of the people.

Give Us the Facts

(Editorial reprinted from Wall Street Journal.)

What is probably the most serious foreign problem before our government is that which concerns Mexico. The issue involves the dignity and prestige of the American government, the sanctity of the principles of international law and the rights of our citizens. Last week a note from the Mexican government on the matter was received at Washington. No hint as to the contents has come from the State Department, but from Mexican semi-official sources comes information tending to the belief that the Mexican government repudiates former agreements and maintains its intention of invading our rights. In the circumstances, it would seem to be the duty of Washington, as well as good policy, to take the people into its confidence and promptly tell them all the facts.

At the 1925 session of the Mexican Congress two laws were in course of enactment that were a direct repudiation of an agreement made with this country; that were in violation of the principles of international law, and were a serious invasion of the rights of our citizens.

In Mexico the man who casts his ballot knows that he is exercising a useless right. The result will always be what the party in power decides. Moreover the privilege of voting is a dangerous function. If the man in power gets wind of the fact that the voter is trying to be independent and think with his own head, the voter is soon brought to his senses! . . .

—Blasco Ibañez

So seriously did our Secretary of State view the situation that on November 27, 1925, he opened a correspondence with the Mexican government in which he declared he "perceived clouds on the horizon." The correspondence between the two governments from November 17, 1925, to March 27, 1926, was made public. Without equivocation the American Secretary stated the laws violated an

MEXICO CAN EXPECT TROUBLE.

War declared on the Catholic Church by the government of Mexico is going to result in bloodshed and unending turmoil, and no one knows that better than President Calles. President Calles has sown the seeds of rebellion and can blame no one but himself if it develops.

"Fools rush in where angels fear to tread."

Mexicans are deeply religious and their emotions are easily stirred. Great masses of Mexicans and Indians belong to the Catholic Church, and are strong in their beliefs that they have a moral right to worship as they see fit.

Imagine what would happen in the United States, made up of peoples far less emotional than Mexicans, were the federal government to declare war on one of the large religious organizations—the Baptists, the Methodists, the Catholics, the Presbyterians. The nation as a whole would not tolerate it. Mexico should not tolerate the acts of the Calles government.

—Editorial from the Little Rock (Arkansas) Democrat

agreement and were confiscatory of our citizens' property, and that this country would uphold its rights.

The correspondence as published ended with a Mexican note of March 27, 1926. Our government replied to that note on July 31, 1926, and on October 14 there was a brief announcement from Washington that a reply had been received from the Mexican government. Not a hint was given as to the nature of the note, and so, from our own government, we know nothing of the situation since March 27 last. But from Mexican sources we learn enough to know that the matter is coming to a head. In the Mexican capital it is freely stated that the government maintains its position. Also, *Excelsior*, one of the leading newspapers of Mexico City, in its issue of October 11, says:

"The reply of Mexico to the last note of Secretary of State Kellogg will be delivered to the latter in a few days. In its reply Mexico affirms the contention that whatever was agreed upon and accepted by Warren and Payne and the Mexican commissioners does not constitute any obligation on the part of the Mexican government."

The agreement is repudiated. Mexico maintains its position in violation of international law. This is what we get from Mexican sources. Within a few more weeks the confiscatory laws will become fully operative and Mexico, according to those advices, maintains its intention of enforcing them. If true, this is highly serious.

If there is a people on earth that deserves the fullest confidence of its government it is the American public. Treated with confidence it will show more confidence in its government. It deserves and should have a full statement of the Mexican situation.

A Case for Medical Attention

(Editorial reprinted from Chicago Daily Tribune.)

Mexican political ambition, under the guidance of the nationalistic President Calles, is creditably reported to be reaching southward beyond its proper boundaries, seeking to penetrate Central America. Americans in Nicaragua are alarmed over the audacity with which Mexico aided the Nicaraguan revolutionists. Behind it all is Red Russia, offering its support if Mexico will set up, from the Rio Grande south to the Panama Canal Zone, an association of radical republics.

This latest development in Mexico's expansive program is but the consequence of the Vera Cruz fiasco. There are shortsighted idealists who pretend the United States has no interest in Mexico's internal affairs, but even these must admit that when Mexico disturbs the security of Central American republics it is time for America to enunciate a clear cut hands off policy. All arguments concerning national integrity to the contrary, the fact remains that what peace there is in Central America can be traced directly to the United States marines, the United Fruit company, and a few other American agencies. We stepped out of Nicaragua and now we are back again, and as long as the Monroe Doctrine persists we shall have to keep going back again every time there is trouble.

Mexico is having a bad case of the colic. Red doctrines, nationalism, and Yaqui Indians are fretful sustenance. So-called liberals chant noninterference and will not allow the American doctor to advise the patient. When, however, Mexico urges and aids its neighbors in Central America, who are wards of the United States, to eat the same indigestibles and get a stomach ache, too, then it is time for Uncle Sam to prescribe a pill or two.

Calles and the CROM

By Wilbur Bates

The report from the Detroit convention of the American Federation of Labor, that as a result of a speech made by Mr. James W. Fitzpatrick, of Waterbury, Conn., a resolution had been adopted instructing the executive committee to make an investigation of the relations existing between the Mexican Federation of Labor (Confederacion Regional Obreras Mexicano), and the Calles government, is very interesting. If this investigation is made in good faith it will reveal the fact that Calles and Morones control the C. R. O. M., and that this organization regards itself as the owner of the government. It will also reveal the existence of the following very remarkable contract entered between Calles and Morones on November 29, 1924, but two days before Calles was inaugurated "President" of Mexico:—

A seal bearing: Central Committee of the Confederacion Regional Obreras Mexicano. On the left margin: Circular No. 69. In the center: To the Labor Organizations belonging to the Confederacion Regional Obreras Mexicano.

Comrade Secretary of the Interior of the Syndicate:

Because we judge it of importance to the life of the Labor Organizations of the Mexican Regional, we inform you for the knowledge of your group of the acuerdo (agreement) made between Comrade Luis N. Morones, as representative of this committee, according to the authorization it has under the rules of the Federation, and Comrade Plutarco Elias Calles, which acuerdo is as follows:

On the margin a seal bearing: Gen. Plutarco Elias Calles. The heading: Acuerdo made between the Representative of the Central Committee of the Confederacion Regional Obreras Mexicano, Luis N. Morones, and Gen. Plutarco Elias Calles.

Calles' Agreement

Plutarco Elias Calles contracts with the Confederacion Regional Obreras Mexicano the following obligations:—

First: To respect all the movements which the Confederacion Regional Obreras Mexicano may make in, provided they are performed in accordance with due authority.

Second: To furnish all the facilities and necessary expenses which the Confederacion Regional Obreras Mexicano may require for their organization.

Third: To dissolve gradually the National Army within one year after having taken possession of the Presidency of the Republic and replace it by battalions of labor syndicates belonging to the confederacion Regional Obreras Mexicano.

Fourth: To accept the head staff designated by the Confederacion Regional Obreras Mexicano, which shall take charge of creating the new organization of the Proletarian Army, the appointments to be made known to the war department when the latter deems it necessary.

Fifth: To mediate with the governors of states by means of special committees to create good understanding when any disagreement arises between them and the Labor Organizations belonging to the Confederacion Regional Obreras Mexicano, or when any attempt may be made by others of different tendencies to vitiate this pact.

Sixth: In creating his cabinet he shall appoint Luis N. Morones Secretary of Industry, Commerce and Labor, so that he may organize all laborers under the program of the Confederacion Regional Obreras Mexicano.

The CROM'S Bargain

The Confederacion Regional Obreras Mexicano binds itself through its Central Committee to Comrade Plutarco Elias Calles:

First: To inform the General Government, or that of the States, beforehand, of any labor movement which the Labor Syndicates may undertake against capitalistic organizations.

Second: To render a monthly report of the amount of money received and of the expenses incurred in the organization of the laborers.

Third: To organize the laborers militarily to take the place, when the time arrives, of the so-called national army.

Fourth: To appoint twenty men to form the head staff of the new Proletarian Army.

Fifth: To support, by means of labor movements, all the acuerdos, dispositions and decrees emanating from his government, particularly when tax payers attempt to elude any payments to the Federation or to the States.

Mexico, D. F., November 29, 1924.

(Signed) P. E. Calles.

(Signed) L. N. Morones.

We trust the good intentions of our Comrade Calles will not escape your good judgment in attempting to dissolve a great shame to our country, worse than the traitorous Federal Army a thousand times over. You being an idealist we are certain that you will do everything possible to have these acuerdos (agreements) receive the acquiescence of the members of your organization.

Mexico, D. F., December 2, 1924.

(Signed) Ricardo Trevino,

Secretary General.

(Signed) Fernando Rodarte,

Secretary of Interior.

Calles attempted to carry out the disbandment of the National army and in a few months after he came into office he had reduced the file by 10,000 men and the officers by 60 generals, according to his own published reports. He then could go no

The generals who had supported him at the behest of Obregon—with the understanding that Obregon would return to power in 1928—had become informed of Calles' contract with Morones. Calles had not the military power to overcome them till a large quantity of arms had arrived that General Francisco R. Serrano had been sent to Germany to purchase. These arms were shipped the latter part of May, 1925 from Hamburg on a steamship called the "El Bravo." On June 8, 1925, when this vessel was within 24 hours sail of the coast of Yucatan she was arrested by two British gunboats and taken into Belize, Honduras, where the arms were taken off her and she was allowed to depart. The arms were seized on the ground that they were sold by the Germans in violation of the treaty of Versailles. Confirmation of this seizure can be found in an item published in the New York Herald-Tribune, July 9, 1925.

This incident halted Calles' purpose to proletarianize the army in Mexico. Four days after this seizure Secretary of State Kellogg issued his public statement placing the Calles government on trial before the world, and on July 10, 1925, Calles had a new arrangement made with the C. R. O. M., which was disclosed in a circular sent out on July 12, 1925. A copy of this circular is in the hands of this writer and reveals the true relationship existing between Calles and the C. R. O. M. more effectively than any other document.

Planned "Red" Army

Owing to the length of this new agreement it will not be presented here. When balked in his original plan to create a Red army in Mexico, Calles later took another course, which is indicated in the translation of the following news item, which was published in "La Prensa," of San Antonio, October 20, 1925. The Military School in Mexico is now conducted in accordance with this announcement:

Mexico will have a Socialist Army. The graduation class of the Military College will join hands with the workingman.

A revolutionary spirit will be injected to the cadet corps so that they will never support the capitalist and aristocrat classes.

MEXICO, October 19—A radical revolution will be started in the teaching at the Military College, which was closed to organize under new principles in order that Mexico will not have a similar army to the militaristic countries, but a socialistic army that in supporting the new ideas will prevent the least intent to regression towards past epochs.

The plan which the War Department will put into effect through General Amado Aguirre, the new superintendent of the Military College, is intended to have the officers which are educated in the institution not considered by any means as superior or privileged, so that they will not try to constitute themselves a whip to the workingmen, whom they must consider with affection and love as representative of the revolution and thus will never support the rich classes in extortionate oppression of the workingmen.

General Amado Aguirre will have the character of Executive Director of the Military College and his mission will be to execute all the dispositions which the Consulting Executive Council dictates and which will be constituted of experts in each of the branches of the army.

The Consulting Executive Council of the Military College will be appointed within a few days by the War Department, which will endeavor to employ the services of those officers of the Army who have completed their studies in the different military academies of Europe.

The revolutionary spirit will be fostered within the army so that it will constitute a socialist institution allied to the workingmen and not an instrument of the capitalist and aristocratic classes.

A Minister's View

The following comprises extracts from a sermon delivered in the Trinity Episcopal Church, Galveston, by the Rev. Raimundo de Ovies, rector, and printed in the Galveston News. It is especially interesting in view of the fact that, at the General Convention of the Episcopal Church held in New Orleans, Mr. De Ovies was one of those mentioned for the post of Bishop of Mexico.)

There are angles in the Mexican religious situation unknown to the majority of Americans, yet very important for the forming of a just opinion; and the whole matter is one of such vital importance to a liberty-loving people such as our own that I feel obliged, in the cause of justice, to deal with the subject this morning.

I hold no brief for the Roman Catholic communion, but, as a citizen of the United States I do, decidedly, feel the need to raise my voice in support of the principle of religious liberty.

The church in Mexico is faced by grave perils and insupportable humiliation; and this applies to all religious institutions. Section 2 of Article 27 of the constitution prohibits any institution known as a "church" and "irrespective of creed" to acquire, hold, or administer property (real property), or liens made on such property. And all holdings prior to the adoption of the constitution vest in the nation, "and anyone shall have the right to denounce property so held. Presumptive proof shall be sufficient to declare the denunciation well-founded." All places of public worship (Baptist, Methodist, Presbyterian, Salvation Army, ad infinitum) included!

No "foreign" minister, teacher, nurse or member of a religious order may exercise the profession; and when our own clergyman, the Rev. Mr. Philips, was threatened with expulsion he was told "you

may stay if you will abandon the teaching of religion and the exercise of your religious faith."—Why stay?

Clergymen charged with violation of the laws are denied the right of trial by jury. Is this what we in America countenance as "constitutional liberty"?

The American government printing office, at Washington, D. C., issued in the latter part of June or the early part of July of this year a list of the acts of the Calles government during the brief period from February 12 to March 12, 1926, that reads very much like active persecution.

THE DIFFERENCE

No minister of any Religious Cult may act as the director of or teacher in a private school.—Mexico's Constitution.

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof.—U. S. Constitution.

President Calles thinks that he is separating state and church. He isn't. He is separating state and freedom.

Calles is attempting to do just what other Mexican presidents have attempted, moved by greed for political power or money, bringing on one revolution after another, until the common people possess little or nothing save their religion. It will be remarkable if Calles does not also discover that human hunger for freedom, denied, always means revolution.

—From the Cincinnati Post

It should be realized by our people in the United States that to remove the Roman Catholic Church from Mexico is to remove Christ Jesus—figuratively. And it means the obliteration of innumerable services of love and charity as well—the abandoning of orphans and the aged indigent. It means the loss of perhaps 75 per cent of all instruction and training of the young, and the absolute prevention of the training of a native clergy and ministry.

I dislike to criticize the government of our sister republic, but we must remember how "governments" come and go in Mexico! The church for centuries has been the only stable and stabilizing influence in that country. The church did not dispose of the nation's oil and mineral rights to foreign capital. Governments did; and the church has been the only effective power in Mexico to conserve the "rights of property" (a very sacred right to us, by the way). "To the victor belongs the spoils" has been the popular slogan of each succeeding government. The only inviolable treasure reserved to the Mexicans themselves has been, up to the present, the treasure in the House of the Lord! And the church's treasure is the people's treasure indeed; for perhaps nowhere else is there so strong a sense of proprietorship in the dwelling of the Most-High as among the native Mexicans.

It is impossible for most of us here in America to understand the frightful spiritual hardships that confront them, because most of us cannot understand the sacramental character of the great communion of Christ's Church that has ministered to them for so long a time. Americans may "get mad at the preacher," go around the corner and join up with another organization, and still maintain their Christian affiliations; but to deprive the Mexicans of the Mass, Confirmation, Baptism, Confession, Penance, Matrimony, or Extreme Unction is to deprive the bulk of them of all that means Jesus Christ to them.

Foes of Christianity

(The following article is taken from the New York City Commercial.)

That the whole anti-Christianity movement in Mexico is the work of Communists directed from Soviet Russia seems certain. Those who have given the subject more than a passing thought all hold to that view. The following interesting phase of the subject is found in a recent issue of the London Patriot:

"Further information bears out the views we expressed on the 12th instant in regard to the sudden attack on Christianity in Mexico. The Constitution of 1917 was determined by a convention engineered by the Carranza party, and has never been voted upon by the people. Article 24 affects to guarantee the freedom of religion; but large powers of interference are conferred upon the Government, and 'before dedicating new temples of worship for public use permission shall be obtained from the Department of the Interior.'

"On the strength of the Constitution President Plutarco Elias Calles proceeded to issue 33 regulations, which have never been submitted to Congress, and are evidently intended as a direct attack on all religious bodies. The Regulation 22 asserts that 'all churches destined for public worship' as well as 'Bishops' residences, parish houses, seminaries, asylums or colleges, convents, or any other building that may have been constructed or designed for the administration, propagation or teaching of any religious belief, shall pass immediately to the full ownership of the nation, to be destined exclusively for the public use.'

"No religious corporation or minister of any cult' is permitted to 'establish or direct schools of primary education.' There are many more restrictions of a meticulous character, such as the prohibition of distinctive dress or insignia. The

general effect is to place all religious observances under the control of the bureaucracy, and to make the existence of an organized religious community practically impossible. No distinctions are made, but the blow falls heaviest on the Catholic Church as the dominant religious body.

"The head of the Mexican Embassy at Washington maintains that the policy of President Calles is, in fact, a continuation of the one which prompted the reform movement, and that the Church and its call to the people to disavow the Constitution has necessitated the enforcement of laws 'already in existence.' According to Dr. Antonio Castro-Leal, therefore, the destruction of organized Christianity is a natural development of Liberalism, which the attitude of the Church has hastened. Our own Liberal Party disestablished the Protestant Churches in Ireland and Wales; but it never contended that either was hostile to the State or bent on retarding the beneficent proceedings of an ultra-progressive Government, and it left to both free exercise of all religious functions. President Calles' Regulations might have been drawn up at the Kremlin; but the penalty of five years' imprisonment for criticising 'the authorities of the Government' is a mild edition of the Soviet Code."

THE RED TIDE

We have Mexico below us to pervert the minds and morals of our people. We have Mexico approved by scores in high places for the very vices we have thought to keep from America. Her agents are everywhere at work. The red tide rises. On many sides there is jubilation. Elsewhere, there is silence. One day, it may be this Mexico which, directly or indirectly, shall be cause of our destruction.

The Bureau of Degradation

(Calles, posing as an exponent of social reform, makes much of his so-called Bureau of Education. The following excerpt from an article appearing December COLUMBIA shows that his "little Red schoolhouse" is engaged in the spread of Bolshevism, birth-control teaching and the general breaking down of public morals. The author of the article is a Mexican jurist of high standing.)

By Plutarco Quematovilla

The work of the Department in the field of public morals is positively devastating and cries out to Heaven for vengeance. Wholesale prostitution and the ideal of free love—these are the objectives of Calles, Morones, Puig, Leon and their brothers in viciousness. The books of Rollin are their models for breaking up family life. They force on the teaching corps of both sexes attendance at illustrated lectures on sex hygiene. The birth control pamphlets of Margaret Sanger are thrust upon teachers and students. The type of instruction now being given in the schools is such that a growing number of young girls are ruined every year. Naturally, we cannot go further in citing cases of this sort. Even in the elementary schools, the diabolism of these men drives them to demand that every sort of intimate matter be explained; and this process, coupled with the attack on religion and the clergy, stains the innocence of childhood and arouses precocious passions and worse.

The esthetic dances inaugurated by Vasconcelos in his mania for Greek revivals, and carried on directly by the Department are little more or less than a wholesale white slave market. They consist of lascivious performances of girls and young women before madly applauding audiences intox-

icated with lust. The following notice appeared in a Mexico City daily, of October 7, 1926:

"In the Ideal Theater there took place yesterday a children's festival organized by the Children's Academy of Classical Dancing . . ." (Editor's note:—It is necessary, in the interests of decency, to delete the newspaper's description of this dance.)

These children were dancing what are now called "classical" dances, which are little more than scandalous and immodest contortions. It is hardly credible that the natural grace and innocence of the young should be turned to the destruction of their candor and simplicity, which are thus prematurely withered and seared by the breath of human evil.

Thus women are led to become something else than women, and men realize that no home can be founded with them. A mere temporary union is all that come of this sort of life—a union to be terminated with the subsidence of passion. The family is coming to an end in Mexico, thanks to the policies of the Department of Public Instruction, which has undertaken to put an end to moral principles in sorely tried Mexico. Decency is shipwrecked to the accompaniment of bestial music and profligate songs; the flight from parenthood and the hatred for the Christian home mark the triumph of Calles and his gang. Luis Morones, the self-appointed labor leader, expensively dressed and driving about in high-priced automobiles, is a marvelous spectacle as minister uniting couples in what are politely termed, "free unions." These ceremonies take place under the auspices of the Secretary of Labor and in the presence of the Mexican Regional Labor Confederation. Marriage will disappear in Mexico, and it will be followed by a people robbed of its Christian heritages by the Department of Education.

A Brave People's Struggles

(Editorial reprinted from Boston Transcript.)

If "England's extremity" was Ireland's opportunity, the prolonged trouble in Mexico—the Catholic-Indian population dangerously incensed against a radical government and at the same time banditry rampant—gives the Yaqui Indian population of the Mexican Northwest a chance to "self determine" itself. This it seems to be attempting to do.

The latest news shows the Yaqui bands—they may well be called regiments, in view of their numbers and organization—to be raiding and burning towns in Sonora, while the Mexican congress appropriates a million pesos or \$500,000 for a campaign against them. If the Yaquis are really agreed and united in a resolution to resist the national authority, it will take much more than \$500,000 to put down their rebellion.

An Industrious Race

These Yaquis are the most remarkable nation of "wild Indians" on the continent. While they are pagan Indians, they are not, as a matter of fact, wild. They are indeed like no other Indians. An industrious, hard-working race, they have for many years been accustomed to send their young men to work in all sorts of industries in Mexico and the Southwestern United States, and they have acquainted themselves thoroughly with the use of the methods and resources of civilization. Many of their men have become well educated; they have served as foremen and superintendents, as well as workmen, in many Mexican and American industries, and some of them even in the learned professions; but they always go back to their people in the mountains of Sonora and Sinaloa,

and they have supplied their whole nation with improved arms and munitions.

As they number at least 50,000—probably many more—as there are no braver people in the world and as they have in the Mexican national service three armed regular regiments, who are said to be on the point of revolt, it will be seen that they are in a position to wage very effective warfare. Their demand is for self-government and nothing less. Doubtless they do not expect to separate the State of Sonora from the Mexican republic, but in their own domain they aim to be their own masters in every respect.

Have American Sympathy

In appearance the Yaquis much resemble our Sioux, and they are like them in brain power, effective clan and tribal organization and self-governing ability; but they greatly surpass the Sioux in industry and enterprise. They are agriculturists, herdsmen, even traders and artificers. They have always resisted assimilation, and have conducted many wars against the Spanish and Mexican authority. Their numbers were greatly reduced by a relentless campaign, approaching one of extermination, which was waged against them by the Mexican Government some ten years ago, in which masses of them were banished to Yucatan. That war went against them because an effective as well as a relentless Government held sway in Mexico. Apparently they think they have a better chance now. In their struggle for self-determination they will have the sympathy of the Americans of Arizona, New Mexico and California, by whom they are much esteemed for their industry and their honesty, and also the sympathy of the majority of the Mexican people of Sonora, where they are the life and sustenance of all the industry there is.

The Mask of Bolshevism

Almost nineteen hundred years ago, Jesus Christ, beaten, bloody, crowned with thorns, clad in a purple garment that was a mockery of His Kingship, stood before a jeering mob. Pilate, in his weak way, was willing to save Him. But the chief priests and the rabble cried out: "We have a law, and according to the law He ought to die."

In Mexico today the enemies of Jesus Christ would blot out His Church. The Church is forbidden to maintain convents, to conduct primary schools, to possess invested funds, to own church buildings, or any other buildings, to direct or administer charitable institutions, to hold religious ceremonies outside of church buildings. Priests are debarred from wearing clerical dress. They may not vote, hold office, or assemble for political purposes. This is but a partial record of the oppression that has been devised by the Mexican Government.

And what is the reply to just protest? What is the answer given to lovers of liberty and justice who have urged that this persecution cease?

Like the chief priests, like the rabble of Jerusalem, Calles and his henchmen rub their hands and smirk and say, "We have a law."

They have a law, indeed! But it is not the law that free men know and respect. It is not the law that gives justice to the poor and protects the weak against oppression. It is not the law that recognizes the right of those it would rule to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. It is rather, the law of the gun—Red, ruthless, degrading. It is the law that gives the power of tyranny to a few and the misery of slavery to thousands. It is Bolshevism.

It is Bolshevism coming close to our homes. We saw it born in Russia. We saw the horror that

grew out of it. But it was far away and we felt secure. Now Mexico writhes. The poison has spread. The present Mexican Government would be happy to have the world think that its activities are no more than a spiteful persecution of a Church that has suffered many persecutions. It would be pleased to have the world overlook the unmistakable indications of militarism and communism. It would be quite willing to have the world consider

THIS IS A CRIME

Under the benign reign of Plutarco Elias Calles, murder is not a crime. A priest may be shot and killed on the very altar of his church. No one is punished for that. Nor is theft a crime. For the sacred vessels used in the Mass may be snatched from the priest's dead hands. And no one is punished for that. Nor is it a crime for Calles' ruffians to seize nine poor peons, prefer false charges against them, and hang them to a tree without even a mock trial. What, then, can a man do in Mexico to be called a criminal? The answer is contained in a dispatch from Mexico City, published in the New York Times. At the end of a long list of arrests, we read this:

"Jose Arredondo, arrested in Tacubaya on the charge of selling copies of the Sermon on the Mount, is also in jail."

Such is the state of justice in Mexico under the benign reign of Senor Calles, "Friend of the Poor".

Calles no more than a rather mean fellow with a nasty way of working off a grudge.

Let us not be deceived. Let us not be so guileless as to think that a Red Dictator satisfies his thirst for power merely by turning helpless priests out of their churches, by stripping them of their rights as citizens, by depriving the sick and the dying of the comforts of religion. This is petty business for a tyrant. Persecution of the Church is only a step, though always the first step, in the creation of a Bolshevik regime. The Red Dictator knows that his philosophy is repulsive to any normal human being. He knows that Bolshevism will be accepted only when men have had their very souls beaten out of them, only when they are altogether slaves, hopeless, groveling. Bolshevism cannot live in a land where men, starved though they may be, bruised though they may be, can still fortify themselves with spiritual strength and stand up and say, "I am a man. I am free. I have a soul and no one can take it from me!"

The Mexican government aims to make the Church its puppet. This is its definition of separation of Church and State. The Church, according to the Calles program, will, instead of being separate from the State, be subject to the State. It is a strange plan of separation that destroys the autonomy of the Church, seizes its holdings, puts it under the supervision of government clerks, and controls it by government soldiery and police. This is not separation from the State. This is subjection to the State.

CORRUPTION

Mexico is being ruled by this thing called radicalism, or, better, barbarism. There, we have marriage made a civil contract by the government, and divorce, in some states, as Yucatan, given for the asking. There, we have the most malevolent and enormous attack on religion of modern times. We have the government Bureau of Education distributing advices for birth control. We have its president, Calles, announcing that he has come to destroy all traditions. We have his henchmen crying out that their flag is the red flag and that they have come to proclaim class warfare. We have murder on a large scale officialized by the government. We have robbery and plunder made legitimate exercises of the government. We have a penal code, peculiarly called a "constitution," which denies men almost all of their ordinarily considered unalienable rights. We have, in a word, all that is vile and vicious, all connoted by radicalism, flourishing in Mexico.

There is no denying the facts. This thing radicalism, like some giant of iniquity, raises itself in Mexico, raises itself on the bodies and plunder of its victims and turns its lust northward to the United States. This barbarism is not a national eccentricity peculiar to Mexico. It knows no borders of blood or boundaries of land and water. It is as international as man and as universal as evil.

\$1,000,000 FOR CIVILIZATION

The Knights of Columbus is raising one million dollars to combat Bolshevism. The opposing forces of barbarism and civilization, of communism and individual liberty, of materialism and religion, are coming to grips. The lovers of right and freedom must unite if the world is to be saved for tolerant and free and wholesome living. Contributions to the Knights of Columbus fund should be made out to the Knights of Columbus Mexican Fund.

Knights of Columbus will contribute to this great campaign. But it is the aim of the Order to give non-Knights and non-Catholics opportunity to subscribe. Members of the Order will help by bringing this opportunity to the attention of all lovers of religion and humanity and freedom.

WASHINGTON PRESS
BOSTON, MASS.

CO-OPERATION

"I have been in consultation with representatives of the Supreme and State administrations and I have come to the conclusion that the gentlemen who have the destinies of the Knights of Columbus in their hands have a greater vision of the need for action in the present crisis than do we who live in the small centers and have to depend solely upon newspaper reports for our information. Knights of Columbus, members of the Order, are today languishing in Mexican prisons with the possibility of death staring them in the face because they have sought to defend their faith. They are as true Confessors of the faith as were the heroes of the days gone by whose names are already inscribed on the altars of the Catholic Church. We, members of the Knights of Columbus, should deem it a privilege to assist them when the dark clouds of persecution are hovering over them. We would not be true to our promises, made when we entered the Order, if we were to neglect our brothers who stretch out their hands to us. We should thank God that we have in our Church members of an organization whose charity is not confined to the limits of an individual community, parish or Council, but which reaches out, as does the Church herself, to all men and to all nations."

Extract from letter of Right Rev. J. H. Conroy, D.D.;

Bishop of Ogdensburg.

COLUMBIA
NEW HAVEN, CONN.

A WOMAN COMES FROM RUSSIA

Mr. Calles is a very busy man. It is no small task to terrorize and oppress a whole nation. Outrages do not happen of their own accord. They must be bred in the vile ingenuity of a perverted mind. Murders cannot be allowed to occur haphazardly. The victims must be selected, the assassins must be hired and given their instructions. Justice cannot be allowed to creep into the procedure of courts and legislatures. Ballot boxes must be stuffed and judges coerced. These are the "affairs of state" that keep President Calles busy.

His program for the Bolshevizing of Mexico and, ultimately, the American Continent, is an ambitious one. Easily within the scope of his viciousness, it seems to be beyond his abilities as an organizer and spreader of Red propaganda.

Calles' Russian masters now send him assistance. Alexandra Kollontay is the ambassador from Soviet Russia to Mexico. For twenty-seven years she has been a bitter and relentless revolutionist. She is the world's greatest exponent of atheism and free love. She is able, skillful, ruthless. She will pull the strings, Calles will dance, the people of Mexico and the rest of America will pay the piper.

Alexandra Kollontay has stated that her purpose in coming to Mexico is to build up

trade relations between that country and Soviet Russia. Kollontay would like to have you believe that. Unless you are very simple, you will know that she lies. You will know that her true purpose is to tighten Communism's hold on Mexico, its unfortunate mouthpiece on this continent.

We have, at our door, these charming neighbors: a woman from Soviet Russia, talented destroyer of liberty, morality and democratic government, brilliant Red propagandist; a man, President Calles, not so intelligent but quite as cruel, quite as ready for any crime of violence, quite as conscienceless, quite as lacking in all sense of morality and decency.

It is possible for this pair to work unthinkable evil. Unless you do your part to stop them, it is certain that they will. Your part is to see the menace, realize the seriousness of it and give substantial support to the campaign of education that the Order is carrying on. In unbelief, in lack of interest, danger lies.

If you laugh now, Calles and Kollontay will laugh last.

Contributions to the Knights of Columbus Mexican Fund can be sent to

WILLIAM J. MCGINLEY,

Supreme Secretary.

Box 1670, New Haven, Conn.

CO-OPERATION

"I have been in consultation with representatives of the Supreme and State administrations and I have come to the conclusion that the gentlemen who have the destinies of the Knights of Columbus in their hands have a greater vision of the need for action in the present crisis than do we who live in the small centers and have to depend solely upon newspaper reports for our information. Knights of Columbus, members of the Order, are today languishing in Mexican prisons with the possibility of death staring them in the face because they have sought to defend their faith. They are as true Confessors of the faith as were the heroes of the days gone by whose names are already inscribed on the altars of the Catholic Church. We, members of the Knights of Columbus, should deem it a privilege to assist them when the dark clouds of persecution are hovering over them. We would not be true to our promises, made when we entered the Order, if we were to neglect our brothers who stretch out their hands to us. We should thank God that we have in our Church members of an organization whose charity is not confined to the limits of an individual community, parish or Council, but which reaches out, as does the Church herself, to all men and to all nations."

*Extract from letter of Right Rev. J. H. Conroy, D.D.,
Bishop of Ogdensburg.*

COLUMBIA
NEW HAVEN, CONN.

Persecution

According to authentic information from Mexico, all employees, in all offices of the Federal, State, and Municipal governments, who are members of the Order, have been discharged. Similarly, all employees of the railroads, many of them of long years' service, who are members of the Order, have been discharged. There is now a movement on foot to deprive all members of the Order in Mexico of citizenship.

"Are you a Knight of Columbus?"

"Are you loyal to the Government?"

"Do you approve the Government policy?"

"Do you criticize the acts of the Government?"

This is the questionnaire sent by Mexican government chiefs to their employees, according to a dispatch published in the New York Morning World of August 26th. This is persecution, malicious, brutal, opprobrious.

Vol. 2, No. 8,
July 15, 1927.

"THE FORD WORKER"
Issued Semi-Monthly by Ford Mo-
leus of the Workers (Com.) Party
1967 Grand River Avenue
Detroit, Michigan

1¢ per copy. Subscription Rates:
15 issues for 50¢; 2 copies each
issue for 15 issues, 75¢.



"FORD'S CHANGE OF HEART"

"Henry Ford now has a heart attack and makes an apology to the Jewish people for the slanderous articles that appeared continually in his Dearborn Independent. He now admits after some seven years of spreading the cheapest kind of prejudice, that these 'protocols', on which he based his anti-Semitism, are forgeries."

"These Jewish 'protocols' were sold to Ford by a Russian named Radloff. He was a member of the former Russian capitalist nobility whom the workers and peasants kicked out during the Bolshevik revolution. This Russian scoundrel escapes to America and gets Ford's sympathy and plenty of his money, for these 'documents'."

"Among the other lies that appeared in his 'Chronicle of the unpublished truth' was that the Soviet government of Russia was dominated by the Jews with the object in view of bringing the whole world under Jewish control. All this twiddle twaddle Ford now repudiates after fanning flames of race hatred all these years both in this country and in Europe."

"If we analyze Ford's psychology we will see that his 'Heart is in his business'. When his car sales were more than the output of his plants he said 'aid the Jew'. But now with sales at a standstill and with a new car coming out soon he wants the Jewish people to spend their money as freely on his products as they have been doing with the General Motors lately."

"So now Ford is 'deeply mortified' that his journal 'has been used as a medium for resurrecting exploded fictions' which he now learns to be 'gross forgeries'. And now he tries to excuse himself by passing the buck on to his 'brass check' editor Cameron, who in all probability will be given a handsome donation or put into some job and then 'publicly canned' for permitting these articles to be printed."

"This is but another example of how the big money interests can control the public mind by owning or controlling the press. Where Ford got in Dutch was because quite a few of the Jews are millionaires. If he had continued his propaganda against labor or the Bolsheviks, he would then have been considered respectable by both Jewish and Gentile millionaires."

AUG 8 1927

62-2299-42
BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
JUL 30 1927
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FILE

ITEMS OF INTEREST
COMPILED BY H.A. JUNG
JULY 26TH, 1927.

RECORDED

62-12299-43

JUL 30 1927

"What is a Communist? One who has yearnings
For equal division of unequal earnings."

* * * * *

Div. Two

FILE

A new pacifist propaganda agency in the form of a monthly periodical entitled "The Herald of Peace" - to help abolish war - edited by one, E.L. Pratt of Lemoore, Kings County, California, has been received. The August number is volume one, number one. Amongst the "old line" contributors to pacifism whose articles appear in this publication, are William Floyd of the American Arbitration Association; A.P. Weschler, which we assume to be Albert Wechsler, a member of the Sacco-Vanzetti Committee of Chicago and an officer of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, which is a Communist-controlled organization; Loyal Lincoln Wirt of the National Council for Prevention of War. Letters of endorsement from such pacifists and radicals as Dr. David Starr Jordan, Esther Everett Lape of The American Foundation, Inc., Upton Sinclair, and many others are printed therein. Reprints of articles by Glenn Frank of the University of Wisconsin, from the "Pax International" (official organ of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom), socialist and radical publications, also quotations from Carlton J.H. Hays, Florence Curtis Hanson and many others are interpolated through the columns of reading material.

It is a very interesting publication devoted entirely to the one subject of abolishing war and disarmament. The subscription rate is two dollars per year or twenty-five cents per copy.

* * * * *

The People's Tribune, an organ of Chinese national opinion, published in Hankow, China, is a radical newspaper, printed in English. In the May issue appears a long article captioned "Pledge Given to Chinese Women By Women of Britain", which states in part: "Greetings from the organized women of Great Britain, through the Women's International League, the British section of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, and a pledge to do their utmost to restrain the use of threats or force against China, are expressed in a letter received from the League by

[REDACTED] The letter mentioned stated in part: "We stand for Peace and Freedom, and we believe that without freedom there can be no peace. Therefore we have rejoiced in young China's movement for freedom; the abandonment of militarist rule; better conditions for workers; the abrogation of treaties forcibly imposed on China and of all special privileges and immunities of foreigners in China. More particularly do we rejoice in the movement for the liberation and education of women." With the letter were five resolutions adopted by the League since 1925.

* * * * *

[REDACTED] is quoted as expressing great chagrin because she and her fellow pacifists cannot go to prison, rather than pay the government five dollars and fifty cents, the per capita quota for maintenance of the defense program of the United States. The thought occurs to us that [REDACTED] and her colleagues no doubt spend that much or more annually for rental of a safety deposit box in a bank vault in which to keep a few hundred or thousand dollars worth of jewels and securities. This is done voluntarily without any coercion on the part of the bank or other individuals. Yet she protests against paying that paltry sum for the protection of billions of dollars worth of property; protection against physical assault by other nations, and insurance against the violation of freedom of speech, press, thought and action, and pursuit of happiness. We would like to ask [REDACTED] whether her investment in a safety deposit box, if such she has, would be of any value to her without the protection of our local police, protection which is a part of our national defense.

* * * * *

J. H. C. M.

The security and power of a nation is based largely upon the steadfastness of that institution known as "The Home". When this institution begins to weaken, the foundations of a nation are weakened and it ultimately passes from power into decay. This is history. The United States is approaching a state of decay in this respect. Even our prominent clergymen are in many instances advocating "free love" or a close substitute - "trial marriage" for apparently they want to keep abreast with the times and be as modern as their flock. However, occasionally a minister of prominence, still worthy of his calling, comes out in the open in a denouncement of the present social trend.

[REDACTED] of Trinity Church, New York City, is quoted in the Chicago Tribune of July 25th, as warning the American people that divorce is threatening a breakdown in the family life of the nation. Divorce is becoming "progressive polygamy", and he said further, "There is a definite propaganda for freer divorce which seems to be making considerable headway. We may even come to the point where trial marriage may be legalized; or to the condition in Soviet Russia, where divorce is granted without question on the application of both or even one of the parties. But the church, as a church, cannot do much toward restricting divorce by legislation."

Students of Communist activities have been aware of this for a long time and are doing everything in their power to awaken the clergy and the American public to the fact that the home and family life of America are being undermined by Soviet agencies at work to produce just that result. The churches, instead of aiding and abetting this Communist program and meddling in the political and economic affairs of the nation, should use their millions of dollars in propagandizing for the salvation of the home which would be more in line with the teachings of Christ than much that can now be found in their programs.

* * * * *

The caustic critics who are so free in their condemnation of "American Imperialism" should read Gerald Martin's article in the Chicago Tribune of July 26th, captioned "29 Years of U.S. Rule Celebrated by Porto Ricans". Mr. Martin states that upon interviewing the political leaders of the island he found no program for independence whatever except in the minds of a few rationalists who are ignored by the people. The general feeling is one of gratitude toward the United States and the islanders are looking forward to the time when they can be granted admittance into the Union as a state. One of the common expressions on the island is: "Don't call us Porto Ricans - we are Americans."

It is quite evident that our Communist sympathizers and pacifists have in some way neglected Porto Rico. Haiti and the Philippines have been stirred up by those social equality advocates and Communism has been hard at work in an attempt to stir up a revolution. Given a fair chance to use their own heads for a change, Haiti and the Philippines would no doubt be as grateful and contented as Porto Rico.

* * * * *

Many of our college professors and other theorists have been loudly advocating the cancellation of all war debts. An editorial appearing in the Saturday Evening Post of July 23rd, offers the suggestion of a western woman that strong local committees be formed in university towns and other cancellationist centers, whose duty shall be to call upon avowed cancellationists and solicit the surrender of Liberty Bonds in behalf of the cause they have espoused, taking care that the fullest publicity be given to the liberality or lack of liberality of their contributions.

b7C

"RUSSIAN GOES FREE WHEN EMPORTATION PASSPORT IS DENIED"

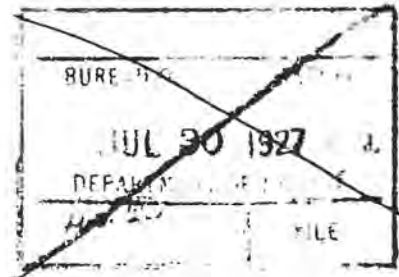
"After having been detained at the immigration station for nearly a year, due to the inability of the United States government to obtain a passport from the soviet government so that he can be deported, [REDACTED], a Russian, was ordered released on his personal recognizance by Federal Judge Jeremiah Neterer yesterday.

[REDACTED] was ordered deported September 1, 1926. Immigration Commissioner Luther Weedon has been unable to obtain a passport. Without a passport [REDACTED] cannot land in Russia.

"Judge Neterer yesterday gave [REDACTED] his liberty, with the consent of the government, for thirty days. If not deported by that time his release from detention will be made permanent.

"The United States government recognizes no government in Russia."

b7c



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National Party

INDIANAPOLIS, INDIANA, JANUARY-JUNE, 1927

NATIONAL PARTY NEWS

Indianapolis, Indiana, U. S. A.

P. O. Box 1694

John Zahnd, Editor

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The National Party must stand upon an issue to eradicate the present banking system as all of our ills can be traced directly to the system of private banks. You must understand that the object to establish the Federal Reserve Bank System was none other than to re-establish a Central Banking System which would dominate and control currency issues and bank credits in the United States. Many people have been deceived with the idea in mind that the Federal Reserve Bank System was a government owned institution. The Money Masters read history and knew that the American people stood against a Central Bank and they knew that the people would not stand for this monster of pillage if the real facts were known. The Federal Reserve Bank System is

not the first attempt to establish a Central Banking System, to control currency.

The first attempt was the First United States Bank. It was the child of Alexander Hamilton's astute brain. It began business on December 12, 1791. It met violent opposition from its birth. It was branded as a "Money Trust," struggled along with varying fortunes and finally died on March 3, 1811, when its charter expired—with its renewal vainly sought. American industry rebelled at the idea of a Central Bank domination. It savored too much of that aristocracy and oligarchy whose chains they had recently chiseled.

The second attempt to engraft a Central Bank on American industry was the Second Bank of the United States. It was chartered on April 10, 1816, and was a stormy petrel of finance. About it waged a running battle. It was from birth to death the center of a conflict. Against its domination American industry rebelled. Real producers of real wealth constantly fought this parasite of finance. Andrew Jackson was the bitter foe and it went out of existence during his administration "unwept, unhonored and unsung" except in the doleful dirges of the Money Masters who mourned its demise. The Money Masters of those two eras read the handwriting on the wall. American industry would not endure a Central Bank and the Money Masters of 1914 read the same symbols. History was against them and the genius of American institutions was against them. Their idea of a Central Bank was never changed. It was the very core and center of their scheme to dominate American industry. But to "get it across" or to "put it over" they must rechristen the monster.

We demand the repeal of the Federal Reserve Bank Act, and the establishment of an American financial system of government-owned banks; by which the Government of the United States shall enter the banking system, reserving to itself the sole right to issue currency and to determine the amount of currency which may be issued to the American people, through the various states and districts or units to meet the needed requirements of all people, and regulated by act of Congress.

We demand that the full Rent of Land be collected by the government in place of all direct and indirect taxes, and that all buildings, machinery, implements and improvements on land, all industry, thrift and enterprise, all wages, salaries, incomes and every product of labor or intellect, be entirely exempt from taxation.

The National Party will make it possible, in justice to all people to eliminate taxes on industry, therefore, we propose to abolish all taxes save one single tax levied on the value of land, irrespective of the value of the improvements on or in it.

What we propose is not a tax on real estate, for real estate includes improvements. Nor is it a tax on land, for we would not tax all land, but only land having a value irrespective of its improvements and would tax that in proportion to that value.

Our plan involves the imposition of no new tax, since we already tax land values in taxing real estate. To carry it out we have only to abolish all taxes save the tax on real estate, and to abolish all of that which now falls on buildings and improvements, leaving only that part of it which now falls on the value of the bare land, increasing that so as to take as nearly as may be the whole economic rent, or what is sometimes styled the "unearned increment of land values."

In the event of a declaration of war the property, equally with the persons, and liberties of all citizens, shall be subject to conscription for the defense of the Nation, and it shall be the duty of the President to propose, and of Congress to enact, legislation necessary to give effect to this amendment.

The people of the United States live in a new period of history. The old period ended in 1917 when we entered the world war. As a result of the war the United States is a nation that differs much from the old nation before the war.

We live in an imperialist period of American history. It means the extension of power and American rule over other peoples and nations. It means a lust for conquest. It means the suppression of the aspirations of peoples overseas. It means either control of or

dictation to their governments, and this eventually leads to annexation. It means large naval power to keep these peoples in submission. It means a permanent militarism which cursed the peoples of Europe for a generation before the world war.

THE CAUSE

The cause of world disorder, is also the cause of the suppression of the truth—a power for Evil that is wrecking civilization and a co-equal power that withholds from the people while “wealth accumulates and men decay.” This Evil power has seized upon the most essential necessity there is for the making and the functioning of a civilization, and with this necessity in its grasp and control, it is so used as to silence opposition; and unless overthrown, means the crucifixion of the human race.

The necessity, without which there cannot be a civilization, that this Evil power has obtained control, is MONEY, a medium of exchange. The making and functioning of a civilization is absolutely dependent upon a medium of exchange. If all the money in the world were destroyed tonight, interminable confusion would at once follow with bread riots in 48 hours. There would be no way to buy a newspaper, a magazine, to ride on a street car or railway, to pay wages or for civilization to further function. “The twilight” of civilization would end in total darkness.

This condition is being slowly brought about by laws that have placed this indispensable medium in the control of people who hoard it and use it to answer a selfish purpose. It is now, in the United States, practically all hoarded and stored in 30,000 banks. The same is true of all the nations in the world. By law, this special class is authorized to so hoard it and to loan at interest, its credit, for ten times the amount of money so hoarded in its vaults. And this credit loaned at interest is practically the only medium of exchange accessible to the people.

As civilization, to continue to try to function, must have a medium of exchange, the people are forced to borrow this credit, paying tribute therefor; incurring an indebtedness, now ten or more times the total amount of money in existence. The latter, the money, they cannot get for it is stored in the vaults of the “money lenders” as an asset upon which to loan, in the United States, their substitute for money. Deriving therefor an annual income in interest of about eight billion dollars, as

much as the total stock of money in the United States.

This money hoarding and money lending class, having possession and control of this indispensable necessity to the people to function as a civilization, is prompted by a selfish human nature to use money, and credit, its substitute for money, to contract and expand its use, to depress or increase values, for its further aggrandizement and enrichment. Knowing when they are going to deflate, they sell stocks; and knowing when they are going to inflate, they buy stocks.

It has loaned its credit, its substitute for money, at interest, to monopolies and trusts, that have fixed low prices on the products of the people and high prices to consumers collecting thus off the people the huge interest sums they have paid the “money lenders.” Thus this Evil power in possession of the blood of civilization has allied with it other trusts and combines, forcing all other classes in a fruitless effort to try to combine for their self protection.

THE RESULT HAS BEEN

(a) It has forced the borrowing of credit, on bonds, mortgages, and other evidences of indebtedness that is now bankrupting the people, honest corporations, municipalities, counties, states and the nation. The total indebtedness now more than 120 billion of dollars in the United States, as much as two thirds the total valuation of all assessable property in the nation, outside of the bonds and mortgages and other debts held by the “money lenders.”

(b) It has brought with it increasing taxation that has become an insufferable burden upon the people.

(c) Foreclosures are taking from the farmers their homes, thus destroying the hopes, animation and prosperity of the class of people who are the most important pillar under the structure of a civilization. Their sons and daughters going into the towns and cities looking for employment. The only remedy being offered the farmers is to loan them more money, more credit, sinking them deeper and deeper in debt.

(d) With the loss of homes and individual business occupations so necessary to the making of a happy and contented citizenship, millions of people are drifting, unemployed or forced to accept employment not suited to their taste or disposition, or if still at home, struggling for self maintenance, with dread of what the future may mean for them, a restless and discontented people.

(e) It is naturally resulting in an increase of crime, suicides and insanity,

annually increasing. It has brought hunger to millions, including children and is bringing us an anaemic race, it dries the mother's breast and robs the babe unborn. In the 2nd century, Cato the second was asked what he thought of “Usury,” then meaning interest on money, and he replied, “What do you think of murder.” It was at the time of the death of the Roman Republic, afflicted with the same financial system we now have. Those, at this time, responsible for the monopoly of the blood of civilization with its entailing horrors, should shudder at its result.

(f) With the money all practically hoarded in the bank vaults and interest bearing credit enveloping the people in debt, the money monopolized, its value is thereby intensified and character is crumbling in the necessity to have it and the struggle to get it.

(g) It is a financial system that is destructive of itself. While leaving in its tracks desolation and ruin, it works a like result upon itself. There have been more than a thousand banks failed in the last year, with frozen assets. Notes the people cannot pay are bankrupting the banks of the West and South with the dead line drawing nearer to the seat of the Octopus, Wall Street, in New York.

THE REMEDY

(a) A fundamental principle in Statesmanship that underlies a sound and correct financial system, is that money and credit should go into circulation among the people without tribute or interest being paid therefor. Any law that encourages the hoarding of money for an ulterior purpose, thus keeping it out of circulation as a medium of exchange of services and property, till a tribute is paid for it, is destructive of the purpose for which money is made.

(b) As money is a necessity in the functioning of government and civilization, without which there cannot be either government or civilization, it becomes the sovereign duty of the government to make, regulate its value, and protect it in performing its civilizing function. The government should pay the expense of doing this, getting the money and credit, if credit is necessary, circulating among the people, for value received in services or property, without any tribute or interest charge therefor.

Our forefathers understood this when at government expense, gold and silver being declared money, mints were opened to coin FREE, all gold and silver coming to the mints, thus encouraging the mining of these metals and putting money in circulation without

interest charge to the people. The same principle can be applied to paper money, paid into circulation for value received in services or property, or loaned on good security without any interest charges whatever. To make civilization function freely with happiness, contentment and prosperity among the people, this becomes a sovereign duty.

(c) The constitution of the United States provides that Congress "shall coin (make) money and regulate the value thereof." Congress has no right to delegate or transfer this power to any private individual or corporation; and all laws passed by Congress establishing the present financial system are clearly unconstitutional. It should be declared so by the Supreme Court because it is unconstitutional and because it is destructive of government and civilization. And a new financial law should be enacted by Congress, re-organizing and putting into effect the foregoing principles.

(d) This Evil power is the cause of wars. By propaganda it produces war to protect its money or credit lending investments in foreign countries; and to further enrich the "money lenders" on bonds to borrow from them to prosecute the wars. It is individual selfishness, crystalized into national selfishness, resulting in imperialism and the making of bond slaves of the people of all nations.

POLITICAL ACTION

The remedy is educational and political. Political action is imperative to wipe out the present destructive Moloch financial system. There is no hope whatever of doing this through the existing political parties, the Republican and Democratic, the members of which, as before stated are responsible for existing conditions. They are in sympathy with and a part of the Evil power, that has brought this crisis upon the world. They have brought us to the edge of a moral and political precipice, where imperialism, a dictatorship, the overthrow of the Republic and loss of freedom is in the foreground.

In the face of this impending crisis Congress, by all it has been discussing, reminds one of Nero fiddling while Rome was burning. To rely upon existing political parties, the inevitable destruction of civilization is at hand.

AN APPEAL

We urge the American people to come to the support of the National Party and assist in making the work lighter and place the responsibility upon more with the means to assuring our victory in 1928, lest our nation perish under the greed of usury and graft. We urge each one who loves his country above self to take special interest in securing the co-operation of your neighbors and friends. The work of the National Party must be accomplished by the unselfish and untiring efforts of those who see the imperative need of placing into power a party of the people, for the people and by the people.

To this end we appeal to every voter to first join the Party and become an outright, active member and then proceed to see that each and every one in your community has the opportunity to join our forces. Through this means the election of our National ticket can be assured.

The National Party in order to not be misunderstood in taking notice of some of the distressed situations in the nation, hereby approves of the following, by John H. Bernhard:

"WHEREAS development and improved drainage throughout many upland states have augmented the flood flow in the Mississippi River, and,

WHEREAS the futile attempt of the federal Mississippi River Commission to confine that run-off between levees, with many outlets closed and many lowland reservoir areas taken from the river, and

WHEREAS the result in 1927 has been the most widespread and appalling flood disaster in the history of the United States, and

WHEREAS much of the water which runs to waste in destructive floods can, through control and use, be changed into a national asset of great magnitude, therefor be it

RESOLVED that the control of interstate flood drainage and its orderly conduct to the sea is properly a federal responsibility. We favor a national policy relating to our water resources under which lowland states will be protected from the surplus drainage of upland states, and under which surplus waters which now run to waste in destructive floods will be controlled and use for beneficial purposes."

Approved by Special Committee at Indianapolis, Indiana., July 28-29, 1927.

"Ill fares the land to hastening ill's a prey

Where wealth accumulates and men decay."

These words uttered by Oliver Goldsmith (Irish-English) about 200 years ago have at all times been true and are true today. It is an axiom in Statesmanship! Which to continue to ignore means the passing of Statesmanship and untold suffering for the human race.

The condition now existing in all the world is the increasing accumulation of wealth in the ownership of the few, with crime, suicides, insanity, bankruptcies, dismemberment of families, loss of hope and degeneracy of the human race, admittedly, increasing annually. In the face of this destructive situation, we call upon all people to pause, philosophize and analyze, the cause and the remedy for this appalling condition.

Voicing the sentiment of millions of people, Lloyd George has said, "A new chapter opens in the history of Europe and the world, with a climax or horror such as mankind has never yet witnessed. Unless something intervenes, there may be in the world again a catastrophe, but not like the last one. The next war may well destroy civilization unless something or somebody does something."

H. G. Wells, has said: "We have come to the crossroads and no one knows the way out." Dr. H. L. Bailsford has said: "The future is very dark. We have reached the twilight of civilization." Sir Phillip Gibbs has said: "No man, unless he is drunk with optimism can deny that the world is very sick and it may be a sickness unto death."

AN EVIL POWER

The conclusion we reach is that there is a power for Evil at work in the organism of all governments, that has formulated and enacted laws for its selfish aggrandizement; that dominates public sentiment; that finances and controls political parties; by propaganda conceals the truth and misleads the people; with members of existing political parties, either selfishly interested in the profits of this Evil power, or animated by vanity or personal selfish political advancement.

Under the influence of this diseased mental and moral environment, we have reached the twilight of civilization. The world is very sick and it may be a sickness unto death. That such an Evil power, exists, enveloping the minds and

morals of men is evidenced by the condition that now exists. That Statesmanship is dead in the administration of all the governments in the world, is also a potent fact. To look for relief from existing political parties in control of government, is to look in vain. They are emersed, inspired and a part of the Evil power that is concentrating the wealth to the few and a holocaust of suffering.

It is the truth that must inspire the members of the National Party to fight on. In every war, we find a few traitors. Without them, we might loose the keener sense to value loyalty, the possession of which inspires us to greater effort and in the end VICTORY.

Men and women do not lack strength to work for the advancement of the National Party, they lack the will to concentrate and act. Everyone is waiting and watching you to see what signal you hoist from within. You attract those that you desire to attract.

Every life is its own excuse for being and to deny or refuse the untrue things that are said of you or the National Party you serve is an error in judgment. The one who makes wrong statements about others is to be pitied, not the one they vilify.

Nature's best use for genius is to make others think, to stir things up, so that sedimentation does not take its place; to break the ankylosis of self-complacency; and start the stream of public opinion running so it will purify itself. Within you lies that power to draw people into the National Party.

Anybody can sympathize with the sufferings of a friend, but it requires a very fine nature, it requires, in fact, the nature of a true individualist—to sympathize with a friend's success. "Know thyself," was written over the portal of the antique world, over the portals of the new world "Be thyself," shall be written. Being thyself will cause you to arise in the interests of your friends and show them the true way in advancing the National Party.

The emotions of man are stirred more quickly than man's intelligence; it is

much more easy to have sympathy with suffering than it is to have sympathy with thought. Men never have evil intentions toward themselves, our evil intentions are always toward others. We think or desire to take advantage of them in some way but seldom have a real desire to help them.

Every social, economic and political system is known by its fruits, if it is such that it brings about or allows to be brought about, conditions whatever they may be that will cause sorrow, suffering, unhappiness and want to any part, large or small, of the people, for the benefit and enjoyment of some other part, then that social, economic and political system bears evil fruits. The National Party has the issue that is bearing good fruit and the Party will live through all opposition and win the greatest cause ever undertaken in the world.

The progress of the National Party is again gathering speed. It is true that after every National campaign the speed endurance is slowed down a bit on account of a slight flurry among the contestants. Some of them in 1924 were so badly frightened that they got off and walked with the old reactionary group, and again enthroned the old, conservative party into power, thus bringing us nearer to a monarchical government than we ever have been since the foundation of the United States. In 1924 the motive power of our progressive political movement looked smooth and all right. Everything looked like a great record-breaking run. Then, I guess we got over-speeding a little and scared a few of those on board.

It is a good thing to slow down a trifle, at times, examine the bearings and other machinery, make quite sure of the steering gear, look to our engines, get a good map of the road, and let some of the chauffeurs affected with speed-madness get off and walk a while. We have more confidence in the good old car, the National Party, of her certainty to reach the destination than ever before. Now while we are getting under progress again for the 1928 conflict, and before the speed gets too great, let us take time to think which way to turn. Let's study the map of the course a little.

We notice, first of all, the road is full of forks. We are called upon every stage of the journey to decide whether we shall turn to the right or left. And

at many of the forks there are more than two choices open. It will require much knowledge, much keen analysis, much close reasoning, much accurate observation, much calmness, much decision to keep on the main highways to our destination, the enthroning of the National Party in November, 1928.

The combination of qualities that enables us to keep on the right track is called "judgment." Never in history has there been such a heavy and continuous demand for new ideas. Too many of us seem to think that, unless the particular idea that we have fancied is the correct road to progress. But the National Party has been on the right road since its foundation in 1918, and there is very little that can be done to change it because it is based on the highest of good government and founded on correct principles.

In keeping in the race of true progress, we must be careful not to get too many new ideas ourselves. To produce the right ideas of worth, takes judgment. Judgment is simply the result of the drawings out of positive faculties and qualities that are innate in each of us—some, more pronounced than in others,—perhaps—and the filling in of useful knowledge that is within the reach of everyone who will sacrifice his indulgence and ease, for the sake of acquiring the study habit.

Correct judgment is nothing more than the right logical combination of true ideas. This gives us the clew to what studies and training are necessary to develop good judgment. To get hold of true ideas, we need trained sense, accurate observation, intensified by close attention, the habit of noting the slightest difference and putting your finger upon the most essential similarities, and care to take in the surrounding circumstances and back-ground of the ideas under investigation. All these come by study and self-development.

Long having settled upon true ideals, the next thing is to combine them logically. That requires the power of reasoning. There are laws and processes of reasoning as immutable as the historic laws of the Medes and Persians. All you have to do is to learn the fundamental principles of the National Party, which in its highest aim is to have the correct monetary system of government. This will correct most all of our ills in the present day deplorable, financial disarrangement.

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MRS. CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT

AND HER

OPEN LETTER TO THE D. A. R.

This Open Letter was published in the "Woman Citizen" for July and published and quoted, I believe, in various newspapers as well. It purports to be a revelation about what the D. A. R. has been doing and a taking them to task for their actions. The plea is made for truth and justice on their part, etc., etc., but somehow Mrs. Catt has not succeeded in setting them a good example in this respect, for anything more utterly unjust and more calculated to convey an impression the opposite to the truth than Mrs. Catt's letter it would be difficult to discover.

But let us comment on the letter.

There are curious touches here and there illustrative of the point of view. Mrs. Catt says, "Just now, with the Bolsheviks announcing a world revolution, a careful scrutiny of these liberties" (she refers to the liberties established by the Fathers in our Constitution, etc.) "and probably a new definition of some of them may become necessary." Apparently the Bolsheviks are to influence a new definition of these liberties, which is the same thing as saying that these liberties themselves are to be revised on account of the Bolshevik action. Mrs. Catt leaves us a little uncertain whether this is a pronouncement off her own bat or if it is batted into the game by certain "scientists" whom she takes care not to name. Somehow, the names of Professor Carl Haessler, Professor Robert Morss Lovett, Professor Felix Frankfurter, Professor Frank H. Hankins, Professor William I. Hull, Professor Scott Nearing, Professor Carlton J. H. Hayes, Professor Edward A. Ross, etc., come to one's mind.

Mrs. Catt says that the D. A. R. condemns the Fathers of our Country on the strength of the say-so of these mysterious professors. It is curious to note that this is just the stuff that the Communists are trying to put over on the Public, and it reminds us somewhat of the advice of Roger Baldwin of the American Civil Liberties Union to the German agent Lochner when he told him, in effect, to get a lot of good flags and camouflage as a patriot to persuade the Public that they, who were trying to undermine our institutions, were the people who were really supporting them. It has of late been very common for the Communist crowd to pretend that they were the real supporters of the Fathers, after first trying to besmirch the Fathers' characters.

Mrs. Catt talks about a campaign "directed and financed by parties unknown." This sort of phrase is also quite common among the Communist undermining crowd. Perhaps Mrs. Catt has adopted it unconsciously. She talks about "when and if" the Bolshevik conspiracy eventuates, but somehow she has already admitted that it does exist, and in fact admitted it in a certain article in the "Woman Citizen" for November 1924, in which she showed quite a little familiarity with it and wrote quite ably on the subject. She implies, but does not say, that the D. A. R. had not brought forward a single proof that a Bolshevik plot exists. Possibly they might cite Mrs. Catt's own article, if Mrs. Catt did not go on to admit that it does exist in this very article I am commenting on. She states that the D. A. R. has not rallied public opinion, and then later in the article complains that they have rallied public opinion too effectively, but in a way she does not like. As a gem of logic, she says that the D. A. R. must be responsible for a certain publication, because no one else appears to be responsible for it, which reminds us a little of the colored jury who let a murderer escape when there were two witnesses to the murder, because twelve men were put on the stand to swear that they hadn't seen it committed. She complains of the statement that Communism, Bolshevism, Socialism, Liberalism and ultra-pacifism tend to the same end, but anyone familiar with the subject knows that they do. She complains of the statement that those connected with Liberalism and ultra-pacifism are largely dupes of the world revolutionary movement, but it is difficult to believe that Mrs. Catt does not know that they are. That is a fact well known to all those really familiar with the subject, and Mrs. Catt has written quite clearly on the subject. She says of the Womens International League for Peace and Freedom, "Call it radical if you wish," which seems to be a confession that she considers the W. I. L. P. F. radical.

She says that certain accusations have been made about certain people, and then proceeds to inquire of these people and thinks their assertion is sufficient disproof of the accusations. Here again she is following Communist and anarchist methods, which were pursued in the McNamara case (though the McNamaras subsequently confessed); in the Caplan and Schmidt case (though Schmidt offered to confess to get a lighter sentence, but his confession was not accepted, as the evidence against him was too strong); in the Ford and Suhr case, and in many other cases, including the Sacco and Vanzetti case.

Dr. J. A. ...

File ...
L. W. P.